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ABSTRACT

The Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 (YEDPA) provided the mandate and resources for experimental and demonstration activity to determine the most effective means to alleviate the employment problems of economically disadvantaged youth. An immediate need was to establish plans and priorities for research, evaluation, and demonstration activity to realize the full potential of YEDPA. This document is the result of the attempt to fill that need, and stems from a review of all available material on programs, research, evaluations, and demonstrations. The recommendations in this report have helped form the framework for and have been integrated into the YEDPA knowledge development activities. Following an overview of YEDPA knowledge development activities, the report covers policy issues, strategy formation, determining what is already known and how it can be integrated into a synthesis for policy development, filling survey and research gaps, evaluation procedures, and new program experiments. References also are included. (KC)

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YOUTH KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT REPORT

KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK
A Research and Experimentation Strategy

May 1980

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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YOUTH KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT REPORT 1.4

Research and Experimentation Strategy

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April 1980

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OVERVIEW

The Youth Employment and Demonstration Act of 1977 provided the mandate and resources for experimental and demonstration activity on an unprecedented scale to determine the most effective means to alleviate the employment problems of economically disadvantaged youth. An immediate need was to establish plans and priorities for research, evaluation and demonstration activity to realize the full potential of YEDPA.

Prior to the passage of the legislation, the National Manpower Institute was commissioned by the Employment and Training Administration to review all available material on programs, research, evaluations and demonstrations in order to provide development. This report is the product of this effort. For inclosure in this series, the original work of NMI has been restructed to support the volume of knowledge development recommendation from the analysis of problems and programs the original set is available from NMI. The recommendations in the report has helped form the framework for and have been integrated into the YEDPA knowledge development activities.

First, it is recommended the primary emphasis be placed on synthesizing the knowledge that already exixts. To this end, a wide array of research and synthesis studies were undertaken, and mechanisms were put in place to assure the crosscutting analysis of the newly funded activities. Likewise, all of the demonstration projects began with state-of-the-art assessments.

Second, it is recommended that an emphasis be placed on the evaluation of programs and approaches already in place. A comprehensive monitoring and evaluation strategy was established from the outset of the youth initiatives.

Third, it is recommended that new indicators of program impact be developed. There has been an attempt under YEDPA to develop a standardized and comprehensive assessment format that includes traditional economic oriented impact instruments.

Fourth, experiments are recommended to test certain promising new approaches. These have largely been put into place as multi-site demonstration projects under YEDPA.

In other words, the recommendations of A Research and Experimentation Strategy have been implemented and provide the underpinnings of the knowledge development activities.

This volume is one of the products in support of the "knowledge development" effort implemented in conjunction with the youth initiatives. The knowledge development effort consists of hundreds of separate research, eveluation and demonstration activities which will result in literally thousands of written products. The activities have been structured from the outset so that each it self-standing and also interralated with a host of other activities. The framework is presented in A Knowledge

Development Plan for the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977, A Knowledge Development Plan for the Youth Initiatives Fiscal 1979 and Completing The Youth Agenda: A Plan for Knowledge Development, Dissemination and Application in Fiscal 1980.

Information is available or will be coming available from the various knowledge development activities to help resolve an almost limitless array of issues, but answers to policy questions will usually require integration and synthesis from a number of separate products, which, in turn, will depend on knowledge and availability of these products. A major shortcoming of past research, evaluation and demonstration activity has been the failure to organize and disseminate the products adequately to assure the full exploitation of the findings. The magnitude and structure of the youth knowledge development effort puts a premium on organization and dissemination.

As part of its knowledge development mandate, and, in fact, in response to the recommendations in this report, the Office of Youth Programs of the Department of Labor will organ ze, publish and disseminate the written products of all major research, evaluation and demonstration activities supported directly by or mounted in conjunction with the knowledge development effort. Some of the same products may also be published and disseminated through other channels, but they will be included in the structured series of Youth Knowledge Development Reports in order to facilitate access and integration.

The Youth Knowledge Development Reports, of which this is one, are divided into twelve broad categories:

1. Knowledge Development Framework: The products in this category are concerned with the structure of knowledge development activities and the assessment methodologies which are employed, validation of measurement instruments, the translation of knowledge into policy, and the strategy for disseminating findings.

2. Research on Youth Employment and Employability Development: The products in this category represent analyses of existing data, presentation of findings from new data sources, special studies of youth labor market problems and policy analyses.

3. Program Evaluations: The products in this category include impact, process and benefit-cost evaluations of youth programs including the Summer Youth Employment Program, Job Corps, the Young Adult Conservation Corps, Youth Employment and Training Programs, Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects and the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit.

4. Service and Participant Mix: The evaluations and demonstrations summarized in this category concern the matching of different types of youth with different service combinations. This includes experiments with work vs. work plus remediation vs. straight remediation as treatment options. It also includes attempts to mix disadvantaged and more affluent participants, as well as youth with older workers.

5. Education and Training Approaches: The products in this category present the findings of structured experiments to test the impact and effectiveness of various education and vocational training approaches including specific education methodologies for the disadvantaged, alternative education and advanced career training.

6. Pre-Employment and Transition Services: The products in this category present the findings of structured experiments to test the impact and effectiveness of school-to-work transition activities, vocational exploration, job-search assistance and other efforts to better prepare youth for labor market success.

7. Youth Work Experience: The products in this category address the organization of work activities, their output, productive roles for youth and the impacts of various employment approaches.

8. Implementation Issues: This category includes cross-cutting analyses of the practical lessons concerning "how-to-do-it." Issues such as learning curves, replication processes and programmatic "batting averages" will be addressed under this category, as well as the comparative advantages of alternative delivery agents.

9. Design and Organizational Alternatives: The products in this category represent assessments of demonstrations of alternative program and delivery arrangements such as consolidation, year-round preparation for summer programming, the use of incentives and multi-year tracking of individuals.

10. Special Needs Groups: The products in this category present findings on the special problems of and adaptations needed for significant segments including minorities, young mothers, troubled youth, Indochinese refugees and the handicapped.

11. Innovative Approaches: The products in this category present the findings of those activities designed to explore new approaches. The subjects covered include the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects, private sector initiatives, the national youth service experiment, and energy initiatives in weatherization, low-head hydroelectric dam restoration, windpower and the like.

12. Institutional Linkages: The products in this category will include studies of institutional arrangements and linkages as well as assessments of demonstration activities to encourage such linkages with education, volunteer groups, drug abuse agencies and the like.

In each of these knowledge development categories, there will be a range of discrete demonstration, research and evaluation activities, focused on different policy, program and analytical issues. For instance, all experimental demonstration projects have both process and impact evaluations, frequently undertaken by different evaluation agents. Findings will be published as they become available so that there will usually be a series of reports as evidence accumulates. To organize these products, each publication is classified in one of the twelve broad knowledge development categories, described in terms of the more specific issue, activity or cluster of activities to which it is addressed, with an identifier of the product and what it represents relative to other products in the demonstration. Hence, the multiple products under a knowledge development activity are closely interrelated and the activities in each broad cluster have significant interconnections.

This study should be reviewed in conjunction with all the other products in the "knowledge development framework" category. Additionally, the background reports by the National Manpower Institute on youth employment problems, programs and experiments are included in Between Two Worlds-Youth Transition From School to Work in the "research on youth employment and employability development" category.

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POLICY ISSUES

The foundation for a research and experimentation strategy is an identification of the key issues which need to be explored for policy and program reasons. The overarching issues, which subsumes most others and creates the need for a research and program experimentation strategy, is:

- What kinds of activities, and in what combinations, will best further the total development of youth between the ages of 16 and 21?

Until recently, we have tended to define the youth problem as an employment problem, because youth unemployment rates are what we have been measuring. This definition leads us only to an answer of "more jobs" for those over 16. Since most states have decided on a compulsory school age of 16, the automatic answer until that age is wholly "education." We measure the retention of youth in public schools and speak with great concern about school dropout rates, which have not changed in about a decade. At the same time, we have extended the period we keep youth in school or encourage them to stay in school by providing public subsidies to postsecondary education.

However, in recent years, partly as a result of central city unrest and increased juvenile crime, we are looking again at the steady trend toward longer schooling and asking questions about how well extended education is serving our youth in preparing them for adult life. Today, we might profitably examine the measures which were developed in earlier periods and ask if we are providing sufficient options for the "youth" years. While the issue is not often stated this way, there is widespread recognition that the existing employment system does not provide adequate opportunities for the 16 to 21 age group; that secondary schools are developing policies of containment

for teenage rebellion and turning out large numbers of illiterate or near-illiterate graduates; that juvenile delinquency is increasing; and that this increase is related to the above developments.

Responses to this situation have been fragmented. Specialized agencies tackle one dimension of the problem: employment, dropout prevention, remedial education, and youthful offender programs. The political access and power of the specialized professional and bureaucratic constituencies tend to determine the balance of emphasis among these approaches. This is the way we have been moving for some time, and some would argue that the nature of our society requires that adjustments be made in this way.

It can be argued that a particular combination of physical, social, and economic circumstances have created a novel environment for youth that is making the passage to adulthood much more difficult to negotiate than it was in the past.

Among the factors contributing to this change are the earlier physical maturation of youth, relaxation of restraints on sexual behavior, greater family wealth (which affords longer shelter), broader education through television, and a technological economy that increasingly refuses entry to adult type jobs to anyone below the age of 21. The attainment of adult status recedes ever further into the future, and the task of self-definition must be undertaken, to a great extent, without the reinforcing contact of varied adult models. The perception that economic participation is delayed as much for society's convenience as for youth's well-being adds to youth's frustration.

This cursory review of the issue of whether we have enough of the right options for youth generally leads to the question of public resource allocation among the problems of different age and clientele groups in the population:

- How do we look at setting priorities among youth and other groups in need of public attention, and can research aid this choice?

Although the setting of priorities among youth and other groups in need of public attention is determined ultimately in the political sphere, it is our view that systematic knowledge ought to inform this process, in which choices are made. In developing a research strategy, it will be important to identify what kinds of systematic knowledge are most informative in the task of setting priorities for public assistance.

The use of economic cost-benefit analysis to inform policy decisions has been advocated at various times and with varying degrees of intensity since the attempted installation of the Planning-Programming-Budgeting system in the mid-1960's. The comparison of lifetime returns to the GNP with costs in terms of diminishment of the GNP produces a cost-benefit ratio. Although much work has been done in this area, severe methodological problems still exist. Cost-benefit analysis does not, however perfected, get at basic equity questions that are often the key element in the decisions. Moreover, the very idea of "returns on investment" places different values on the young

and the old; there is obviously less economic return on the 65 year old than on the 20 year old.

It will remain true that the choice among groups with competing economic interests and problems will, and must, remain largely a political one. In spite of the difficulties involved, however, certain kinds of objective information may be useful in informing such choices. For example, if skill training were found to result in employment for youth but did not seem to further the situation of veterans, then decision-makers would at least know something about the appropriate division of a skill training budget. This still leaves the task of determining what does work for veterans and the appropriate allocation of the total employment and training budget (much larger than just skill training) among youth and veterans. But again, research may prove useful in identifying what does help veterans, and this kind of research would greatly increase the possibilities for more rational decisions regarding how much and what is done for competing clientele groups.

Researchers can render another important kind of assistance in making choices among competing claims from competing groups; their ability to conceptualize the differences in the nature of the demands (or needs) of particular clientele groups can help determine whether such groups are in fact competing (or should be competing) for the same pot of money. We do not really match adults' demand (need) for housing with youth's need for assistance in getting started on careers, except at a very high level of aggregation. But if we have

identical forms of assistance (or services) for youth and adults, we clearly have competition for the same pot of money.

In some circumstances, we may perceive that two groups are competing for the same assistance or services when in fact they are not. Consider the case of youth and adult employment assistance under the following hypothetical conditions: the economic system has so failed to absorb youth labor that youth socialization is failing, a growing disjuncture is taking place between youth and adult society, and society is in danger of failing to replace itself. In such a situation, let us suppose, the needs of adults could be met through providing public employment to a significant minority of families. Are the youth and adults competing for the same kind of assistance? Or is the youth problem symptomatic of significant social failure and the other a specific economic need of a particular group of citizens? Social science research can provide knowledge with which to make such distinctions.

The issue here raised is a key one, but in the total effort to develop a research strategy there is recognition that the choices here posed, while helped by research information, cannot be made primarily on the basis of objective and comparable facts.

As we turn back to the question of improving the developmental period of youth itself, irrespective of choices regarding which group has the largest claim to public attention, we turn to issues of what choices to make in improving youth's development and confront such specific matters as:

1) Should increased labor force participation on the part of youth be encouraged?

2) Should youth be responsible for providing a particular kind of service to society, i.e. a specific type of work that is legitimately identified with youth?

The answer to question #2 depends in large part on the answer to question #1, and although the issue implied in question #1 is not much debated, it underlies other issues and debates, including the question of youth service employment. There is wide social acceptance of 16 year olds working part-time to earn spending money; there is not wide acceptance of the notion that government is responsible for expanding the availability of jobs solely for youth employment, except to aid those with low family income.

However, the government has, in the past, encouraged labor force participation by in-school and out-of-school teenagers alike, although economic circumstances themselves have not always been encouraging to teenagers. Unlike most other countries, we have included both in-school and out-of-school teenagers in the official unemployment rate -- a fairly steady form of encouragement, though somewhat subtle. Since more teenagers are seeking work and many are not finding it, youth unemployment accounts for an increasing share of the total unemployment rate. This rate, in turn, is what we watch to make judgements about aggregate stimulation of the economy to provide more private sector jobs and direct public service job creation. It is the attempt to get that rate down through aggregate measures that has inflationary side effects. This is not to say that we should cease

to give such weight to the youth unemployment rate; we do take it seriously, and in that sense, it is an issue we have resolved.

One strategy that is regularly proposed to address the problem of youth unemployment is the creation of a special work sphere for youth. Supporters of this view hold that youth should be responsible for providing needed public services and traditionally have suggested conservation work and the construction of public recreation facilities as appropriate tasks for youth, (e.g. the CCC, part of the Job Corps, YCC,and the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977). The creation of a National Service, where youth are paid a stipend rather than a wage, is another alternative often proposed.

A common element in all these approaches is the attempt to identify useful work that encroaches minimally on adult economic activity. A more direct way of addressing the issue would be to ask if certain kinds of work and service should be distinguished as "youth work" for those who want to do it or who need the income such work would provide. This kind of community work is seen as being analogous to the household chores or farm work of the past. The difficulty is that very little of this kind of work exists that is not already, to some extent, engaged in by adults for financial remuneration. However, if we accept the notion (which appears to be unquestionable and implicit in much of the transition debate) that the transition problem is primarily an employment problem, then we must ask:

Should youth transition policy be based on the assumption that disjunctures in the school-to-work transition will yield primarily to direct job creation or to changes in institutional practices and relationships?

The question, in general terms, continues the debate of the early 1960's between the aggregate demand school, led by CEA Chairman Walter Heller, and the structural school, led by Charles Killingsworth. To the extent that the youth problem is part of a larger problem of general employment adequacy, its solution is seen to involve choices, either among general or selective demand policies or policies directed at improvement of job market functioning through changes in laws, such as the minimum wage law, and in institutional functioning, such as the provision of skill training and occupational information and greater involvement of the private sector.

But the youth situation is distinct enough, and the federal focus upon it separate enough, for a somewhat different debate to have developed. This debate centers on the concept of career education, a reform considered by its proponents to be an important aid in integrating present and former students into the work force and attacked by its opponents as basically worthless in a situation where the "youth unemployment problem is clearly a result of economic policies" (Kemble, 1976). The debate is reflected in Congressional reactions to proposals to create public jobs for disadvantaged out-of-school youth; the response to such proposals was to include the in-school population as well, and to tie the education and employment

institutions together in a common effort. Proposals to create a dual minimum wage evoke strong counter statements that job shortage is the problem and that lower wages for youth will cause employment difficulties for adults.

There are also some who argue that the controversy itself is unfortunate; that the youth situation results both from institutional practices and relationships and the shortage of jobs for youth (and adults) and that institutional practice and job shortage are intertwined and cannot satisfactorily be treated separately.

Researchers would contend, with merit, that knowledge of basic causal factors should inform the decisions of policy officials. But other factors also must be taken into account in any policy decision in this area. One factor is the existence of strong program preferences on the part of policymakers that are rooted in political and philosophical orientations regarding the appropriate scope and form of government activity. Another factor is jurisdictional authority, since proposed approaches will fall somewhere within the charters which create and guide the public entity making the proposals. And yet another factor is the possibility that feasible solutions are not always consonant with primary causes because what government can do is constrained, and because knowledge of causes does not necessarily point the way to solutions.

Other questions, closely related to the larger issue of youth employment policy, are the following:

- Should the federal youth effort "target" services to segments of the youth population most in need?
- Is is necessary or appropriate for the government to subsidize the wage costs of youth employment in private enterprise?
- Should we be creating attractive jobs for out-of-school youth which may tend to increase school drop-out rates?

The "targeting" issue will be recognized immediately as a long-standing and oftentimes emotionally charged issue. If we are speaking of a single public service, such as the creation of expensive public service jobs, then the issue is a fairly simple one. Given a fixed amount of available funds, should these jobs go first to those who need them most? The answer is equally simple.

There is a complicating factor, however, in answering this seemingly simple question -- the possibility that the labeling, which is a corollary of any targeting approach, may have unintended consequences that could exacerbate the problems of the target group. Therefore, some experts want to experiment with more mixed racial, ethnic, and economic groupings (as in a special provision of YEDPA).

One may also ask if focusing an activity or service on a target group is the best way to reach them. For example, private employers approached in a job development effort for poor youth in central cities may understand "poor" to be an indirect way of saying "black". They may immediately assign the undertaking to their affirmative action department, with the result that their defenses are raised rather than their employment barriers lowered. This may be avoided

by including the poor in a broader initiative with private employers and appealing to business self-interest in developing a future labor force. But then it might reasonably be argued that the poor will end up being left out.

This brings us to the "creaming" question, which qualifies as one of the issues most frequently raised in connection with programs aimed at specific target groups. It is often the case that when one person names a particular program as having been successful, another person will say that the program dealt with the easiest cases, or that it took those who could make it on their own, or that it shunned those who were "at the bottom of the barrel."

The viewpoint of program administrators is that they are pressed for measurable results and are compared with their counterparts in other cities and other regions. They often feel that it defies good judgement to spend their time on cases that seem hopeless, when there are cases which meet the target group definitions where success is possible.

Skimming the best off the top is sometimes justified in terms of specialization; an administrator will say that those not taken by his or her program are the responsibility of some other program. The existence of a considerable number of programs with overlapping objectives contributes to this situation.

Policy designers search for methods to define the categories in ways which minimize such creaming. But they are limited by what is

measured about individuals; boundaries in terms of family income, parents' education and occupation, or minority status, often do not isolate those who most need help. The possibilities for help from research lie in identifying the measurable characteristics (and validating them) which best direct program efforts to the target group identified by policy officials.

The issue of wage subsidies arises because private employers are less than enthusiastic about hiring youth -- particularly those most in need of training and income. Subsidizing youth wage costs is, of course, a means offered by some, and opposed by others, of reducing youth unemployment. Anyone who has discussed youth unemployment before diverse audiences is well aware, however, that this means becomes an issue in itself, with the debate formulated along two lines.

The argument is made by some that employment should be provided in the private sector rather than in the public sector, and that private employers could increase youth employment if the extra costs of hiring youth, due to their lesser maturity and experience, were neutralized by a wage subsidy. Others, however, fear that employers would find ways to increase profits through such a subsidy and that, in any event, it would be difficult to tell which youth were hired because of the subsidy and which youth would have been hired anyway.

This latter concern gives rise to a second debate regarding the effectiveness of such a subsidy. If employers simply receive subsidies for youth they would normally hire and do not increase their hiring significantly, such a policy would be ineffective in increasing

youth employment. This is largely a factual question, the answer to which is not easy to determine.

Yet another very strong concern springs from a fear that the subsidy would work; if it becomes more economically attractive to hire youth, then they might be hired instead of adults, giving rise to concerns about "displacement" effects, i.e. the impact on adults. There is also the unaswered question of whether such a subsidy would raise the total number of employed or simply reallocate already existing employment opportunities to youth. The economics of the matter revolve around the predicted effects of a lowered wage bill on prices, and, ultimately, through price changes or cost reduction, on demand.

Some European countries are using such wage subsidies for youth. The U.S. experience has been confined to reimbursement of employer costs for training largely disadvantaged youth. The Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 underscores the strength of the issue by mandating a large public experiment with wage subsidies.

The proposal to create attractive jobs for out-of-school youth is perhaps generating more concern about such a policy's effect on drop-out rates than is warranted by the facts of the situation.

The truth of the matter is that we do not know very much about the effect of employment opportunity on school retention.* We pose

this here as an issue simply because it is a question which worries people making decisions about youth policy.

The issue will yield to good information about what actually influences school leaving. The analysis by Bachman et. al. of a longitudinal sample of 10th grade boys suggests that decisions to drop out are long in the making, and that dropping out is more a symptom of basic underlying educational and personal problems, than a decision made suddenly in response to a current situation.

The question becomes more complex, and more interesting, if we change the way in which we view the "dropping out" process. A new view of the education-work relationship, and of "lifelong learning," calls into question the expectation that all youth should take all their public education at one sitting. Many proposals have been made for more flexible learning schedules that accomodate "considered breaks" for work or service experience. Therefore, one answer to the question might be to encourage discontinuities in schooling <u>if</u> they increase the possibility of eventual school completion and <u>if</u> they create a more continuous path to career employment.

The issue is altered if youth job creation is not confined to youth out of school. If youth can have access to part-time jobs while still in school, then dropout motivation <u>may</u> be obviated. On the other hand, it may be increased if a taste of financial regard leads to the pursuit of such reward over educational achievement. This is a question which may yield to careful research.

Still other approaches (as in Title II of YEDPA) attempt to use employment to achieve school completion by making continuation in school a condition of job eligibility. This approach will be tested; the question will quickly become how well these pilot efforts can be structured to reveal how strong such incentives actually are. These various approaches, however, do confirm that the issues posed here are still unresolved.

The appropriate relationship between academic work experience is yet another unresolved issue with important policy implications. One aspect of the question with which policy makers have been grappling for years is:

- To what extent should youth work experience be rewarded with academic credit, and under what circumstances?

The recent movement to nontraditional studies by nontraditional students has brought more people into the educational system with past work experience or with a history of alternative work and schooling. As a result, the accreditation issue has become more pressing. Currently, it is being addressed on an organized basis by the consortium of postsecondary institutions called the Cooperative Assessment of Experiential Learning, funded by FIPSE and the Carnegie Corporation and involving the Educational Testing Service. The American Council on Education has also issued recommendations on the crediting of experience.

The passage of the 1977 youth employment act marks a new phase, by mandating efforts to work out means of giving academic credit for the various public employments provided for in the legislation. This means that a variety of issues will have to be faced with regard to

determining the educational content and assessing the educational value of various types of work experiences, establishing the desired relationships between classroom instruction and work experience arrangements, and maintaining educational standards.

In articulating a research strategy for the youth transition, the Department of Labor must address a number of issues which have important organizational implications. In summary, it appears to us that two issues are of major significance:

- To what extent should the Department of Labor act separately in the youth transition area and to what extent in concert with other federal agencies?
- What proportion of DOL/ETA research and experimentation should be for the purpose of determining federal policy and programming as compared with informing state, local, and private action?

To the extent that education and employment are engaged in simultaneously by youth, it would appear that close working relationships among those agencies responsible for the two activities are appropriate. However, it is common knowledge that relationships attempted in the past have not been comfortable, and considerable uncertainty exists today regarding the utility and/or necessity for joint action. The most continuing relationships have been between Labor and HEW; one recent initiative involved the Department of Commerce, and another active effort involves HUD.

The relevance of research to this issue lies in its potential to identify correlations between program outcomes and degree of cooperation

among federal, state, and local Labor, Education, and Commerce departments. Research might also shed light on the question of whether mutual reinforcement may arise from the intertwining of work and education, and whether joint agency efforts have significant effects on the outcomes of programs.

However, the resolution of this issue involves many considerations which cannot be settled by research alone; moreover, past experience, debate, and interdepartmental disagreement (and cooperation), as well as recent debate and legislative action on YEDPA indicate that this will be a continuing issue in the transition from school to work.

The second question is perhaps more difficult to resolve than the first. Every government research program is pulled one way by policy officials (towards applied research) and the other way by scientists (towards more basic research). Although this conflict is almost always resolved in favor of applied research, there is little certainty as to where the dividing line is. Moreover, given a decision that research should inform action, there is lack of clarity as to whose action it should inform and at what level of government.

Although harried federal policy officials are concerned about federal legislation, federal policy, federal programming, and federal budget, they must also ask, in relation to federal action, if the matter under consideration would be handled most appropriately by the family, private institutions, or local and state government. If the answer is yes, then the issue becomes: should the federal govern-

ment sponsor applied research to assist non-federal decision makers in taking corrective action?

This question probably is answered in practice much more than in theory, in day-to-day decisions about what research projects to fund. However, it might help to formulate the issue clearly, for its resolution is very important to both research directors and policy officials.

In dealing with a matter of government policy, research directors are unlikely to know in advance whether results of a project are going to be useful to federal policy officials or to other decision makers, although they may know whether it is more relevant to private or to public policy making.

Federal policy makers would perhaps feel more comfortable leaving non-federal matters in non-federal hands if research were helping guide them toward solutions to critical problems. For example, research could help establish how much television affects school work, which affects employability, so that parents could decide when and how much television children should watch. If occupational licensing is to be left a state matter, research can inform state decision makers on the employment implications of licensing standards that require more formal knowledge than is needed to do the job. And if in-plant job training is to be the responsibility of private industry, research can inform the industry regarding the relative effectiveness of formal and informal training in particular occupations and industries.

The issue thus revolves around such questions as whether the scope of the applied research agenda should be kept as narrow as the scope of the federal action agenda, or whether federally sponsored research should be consciously pursued as a means of assisting non-federal decision makers in areas not considered within federal decision-making jurisdiction. While this is a general question, it is of particular relevance to the school/work transition, since so many public and private institutions are involved.

ELEMENTS OF A STRATEGY

The first element of a research and experimentation strategy, to explore these policy issues, is to develop a research networking capability. Federal research offices are staffed mainly to fund and monitor research. In a field as broad as the transition from school to work, where many disciplines, individuals, and organizations are involved, there is a need to exercise leadership and provide assistance that goes beyond the funding of research. Ideas, plans, researchers pursuing closely related projects, and researchers working on similar problems in different disciplines need to be brought together through newsletters, regional conferences, and networks even when they are not working on federal projects with federal funds. Networking is also needed to bring researchers encountering problems and barriers together with people who know how to solve and overcome them and those who need data together with those who have the needed information. In short, there is a catalytic role that would give the field a cohesion which would nurture the production of knowledge, and this function needs to be provided for in budgets and staffing plans.

A second element is putting a record-keeping system into place that permits tracking change over time, through a project to develop a set of transition indicators. It has been said that we do only what we measure. Moving on a public policy front in easing the school-work transition is integrally tied to keeping track of what is happening. We developed a national measure of unemployment when we decided to do something about it nationally and of school drop-out rates when a high school education

for all became a common objective; it will likely be the same with respect to the transition. Maintaining such a record-keeping system means regular collection and publication of indicators of the changing circumstances of individual youth (where we are well under way), changing quality and behavior of institutions affecting the transition (where we have hardly started), and relevant changes in society and economy (where we have gone far).

A comprehensive strategy should include careful attention to structuring new incentives for knowledge integration and synthesis. The reward structure of academic disciplines, and the manner in which they operate, encourages the addition of increments of knowledge and the documentation of what isn't known (to justify further research), rather than the integration and synthesis of knowledge. The many ramifications of the process of movement from school to work cut across all the social science disciplines, and the academic structure promotes separation and isolation, rather than cross-fertilization and joint effort. The policy maker needs to know what, in sum, all the bits of knowledge add up to, irrespective of what individuals and disciplines produced them. A small grant program for the integration and synthesis of knowledge is proposed to bring more balance to the structure of incentives.

A related proposition, arrived at after thinking about new program experiments and summarizing evaluations of existing programs, is that an agenda for evaluation should be developed by systematically identifying programs (federal, state, local, private) that are developing good reputations but have not been formally evaluated. This report makes a start on this agenda by identifying and describing 40 programs and briefly

summarizing known methodologies for post hoc evaluation. Much can be learned this way, at considerably less expense than creating the program anew with an experimental design (although the latter, of course, would potentially be the more rigorous approach). While a start is offered in this report, the development of a full agenda and elaboration of post hoc evaluation methodologies would have to be more complete before embarking on a program or urging that others undertake it.

A more ambitious element, in terms of both time and cost, is new program experimentation. The report presents a rather extensive and ambitious program of experimentation, which suggests two related, but still different, objectives for experimentation. The first is quite traditional: to try approaches of promise in live settings, maintaining careful records to identify success and its elements and to answer important research questions and identify critical relationships. The second objective is the need to design and operate carefully implemented models, so that organizations and communities can actually see them, know what they are, what is being done, and how. The analogy is more the automobile show room, with options, maintenance manuals, and service departments, than the scientific laboratory.

Together, these objectives represent a strategy both of identifying transition services that are effective (and better understanding the dynamics of the transition in the process) and offering ideas and approaches in ways that are transportable.

While the rationale here offered may be a little different, this, of course, has been the objective of program experimentation which has been carried on over the last decade. An example of the first type would

be the New Jersey Negative Income Tax experiments or current supported work experiments. An example of the latter would be the original four Experience-Based Career Education Models.

The project on which this report is based began before the passage of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act, and the work on new program experiments was done in the winter of 1977-78. Since then, developments have been rapid, and the capability for experimentation greatly expanded by the creation of the Corporation for Public/Private Ventures and Youthwork, Inc. With the effort, sophistication, and greatly enlarged resources now being applied to these matters, the modest effort represented by this report can be no more than raw material and a point of departure. The areas recommended for experimentation and model development are information, job placement, age integration, private sector initiatives, experience, career guidance, community and national service, and initiatives for rural areas.

There are knowledge needs and gaps that don't lend themselves as well to time series indicators or live program experimentation that can best be filled through other means of data gathering and analysis. The strategy, therefore, includes identification of survey research needs. The unknowns about the whole of this life stage are so large as to be practically unlimited, so some careful sifting and weighing was necessary here. No one criterion could be used, and in the end we came to the identification of seven areas on the basis of degree of importance to the transition, relative neglect in the research community, and our ability to suggest specific needs and possible approaches. It was not enough to say only "we don't know enough about that."

The areas developed for additional survey research are occupational and labor market information, child labor laws and regulations, the nature of teenage work, central city teenage unemployment, credentialing, work experience, and research support for vocational curriculum change. Although other knowledge gaps in survey research can be identified, additional information in these seven areas would contribute importantly to our knowledge and understanding of the transition process.

Research Networking

> *The role of a federal research office in the transition from school to work field needs to be much broader than just funding research projects. The research office needs to have sufficient resources to enable it to facilitate the expansion of knowledge wherever that expansion takes place.*

A primary job of a federal research office charged with expanding knowledge in a particular area is the funding of needed projects for research and experimentation, monitoring them, and disseminating the results. But a leadership responsibility entails more than this and requires a considerable amount of time (and adequate personnel) for the networking role.

There are countless numbers of organizations and individuals who are engaged or interested in conducting useful research in the broad field of the transition to work. To a great extent, this research can and does take place outside the sphere of federal government contracting,

particularly the research done by individuals. But the country is so huge and the field so broad that it needs to be connected in such ways that what one does reinforces the work of others and so that work in progress does not remain unknown until the phases of conduct, review by contracting offices, acceptance by a journal, and the mechanics of publication are completed.

Much of this kind of networking is done by the research staff of a federal department, but it is seldom recognized in budgets and staffing plans as a legitimate and necessary function in its own right, and rarely are funds consciously budgeted for such activity. This is true despite the fact that the expenditure of relatively small amounts of money can have considerable results.

For illustration, the kinds of activities that need performing are as follows:

- maintaining a newsletter with wide circulation which reports the nature of on-going and completed projects (by whomever they are being carried out);
- talking with individuals and organizations about problems they have in completing research undertakings and barriers such as lack of knowledge of data files or restricted access; and
- conducting regional meetings of researchers on an inter-disciplinary basis as a means of encouraging cross-fertilization, cooperation, and integration.

The networking extends, of course, to bringing together policy users and suppliers, and, although there are many ways this is done at the national level, the match needs to be facilitated at the regional and local level as well.

Tracking Change

There is a need for a regularly collected set of "Transition Indicators," which would track changes over time in the circumstances of individual youth, changes in the quality and behavior of key institutions in the transition, and relevant changes in economy and society.

The degree of concern about a problem area can usually be gauged by how well we measure it. What we do depends heavily on what we measure; and when we do something about problems, we want to know what changes occur.

Much of the knowledge base for action will come from careful research and experimentation, but research and experimentation take place at a point in time and discover relationships and conditions that exist at that point. This information needs to be supplemented by measurements that tell us periodically how things are changing and indicate direction and trend. From this kind of data we can judge whether we are progressing toward objectives and determine what relationships seem to exist among different kinds of change.

These measurements have increasingly been called "social indicators," and considerable developmental work, and actual measurement, has taken place in this relatively new field. However, in relation to the nature of the transition process and the need to track it, existing recurring statistics and measurements are in a primitive state for many aspects of the transition. The creation of a development project is proposed, which would result in a plan for what the content of transition indicators

should be, what additional data collection would be necessary, and how the data should be assembled and published.

The system of indicators would be developed, it is proposed, within the framework constructed at the outset of this study, in the categories of (A) Individual Circumstance, (B) Quality and Behavior of Institutions, and (C) Economic and Societal Change. Changes in the transition from school to work are shaped by what occurs within each of these categories and the interactions among them.

The possible content of an indicator system is illustrated under each of the three categories, with the largest development effort, and the highest priority, assigned to (B) Quality and Behavior of Institutions.

A. Individual Circumstance

The illustration developed here relates to the shortcomings of the teenage unemployment rate as a primary measure of the success with which the transition is achieved and points to the need for a companion set of measures of youth status with regard to the transition which would reveal:

- youth looking for developmental work experience and unable to find it;
- youth looking for income-earning opportunity and unable to find it;
- youth looking for service experience and unable to find it;
- youth, employed, but looking for different work; and
- youth seeking additional education or training but blocked from obtaining it.

B. Institutions

Priority is given to development of indicators of the quality and behavior of institutions, because the deficiencies in measurement are largest there and because the development of intermediate services of employment counseling, placement, etc. are so underdeveloped. A central conclusion of Beatrice Reubens' international study was that

> The United States stands out for the degree of its reliance on individual schools and colleges; its spotty history of cooperation with the employment service, employers, and trade unions; and the great diversity of standards of practice from one place to another.

The shape of evolving practice as additional efforts are made will not be seen unless we develop a better system of record-keeping than we have now. Possible content is illustrated within the following framework:

1. INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR LEARNING
   - A. Educating Institutions
   - B. Experience Institutions
2. LABOR MARKET INTERMEDIARIES
   - A. Job Placement Institutions
   - B. Providers of Occupational Information
3. REGULATING INSTITUTIONS
4. EMPLOYMENT INSTITUTIONS (employers and unions)
5. ARRANGEMENTS FOR COLLABORATION

C. Changes in Society

While this is included for completeness, no additional developmental work is recommended, since indicators of broad societal change that affect the school-work transition are available in the new Social Indicators volume, published by the Department of Commerce, and in other efforts outside the government.

Knowledge Integration and Synthesis

> *There is a need for incentives to get established researchers to integrate and synthesize existing knowledge in the transition from school to work area within disciplines and across them, to balance existing incentives for fragmentation of knowledge and microscopic additions to it.*

There is one very important respect in which "policy research" and "discipline research" differ: in the former, there is a great need for synthesis of existing knowledge, while in the latter, all the rewards are for adding bits of new knowledge, however microscopic they might be.

The first effect on social science of the emphasis on accretion of new knowledge is the need to prove what isn't known in order to lay claim to having made a contribution. The tendency, therefore, is toward establishing the inadequacies of existing research in order to make room for more, which tends to exacerbate the problems of social science in establishing a coherent base of knowledge that can be built on.

The second effect is the isolation of each discipline from the other and further specialization and fragmentation within the discipline. This results from the fact that there are no integrative forces operating when the rewards are almost exclusively for contributing a new bit of knowledge through survey research and for identifying insufficiencies to justify additional research.

With respect to the needs of social policy, the failure to reward synthesis and integration of knowledge seriously limits the utility of research in policy making. The policy maker has little interest in whether a specific piece of new knowledge was created by a particular person. Instead, the need is to know what, in sum, all these bits of knowledge tell us.

This need for integrative forces is particularly acute in attempts of public policy to deal with the transition from school to work and with the generation of adequate youth employment opportunity. Understanding how youth enter economic adulthood and how that entry can be made more certain involves all the social science disciplines, encompassing knowledge of market forces; youth cultures; identity, self-esteem, and motivation; learning theory and practice; juvenile justice administration; employment skill acquisition; and organizational behavior.

A key new direction for research sponsors to take in the field of the transition from school to work is in providing incentives for good, and even the best, research minds to synthesize existing knowledge and, where this involves different analytical skills and interests, providing incentives for new people to engage in this activity.

The specific proposal is that funding be provided to undertake a Small Grants Program in Knowledge Integration and Synthesis.

The grants would be for two kinds of synthesis:

a) synthesis of established knowledge in one broad area within a particular discipline and

b) synthesis of knowledge bearing on a particular problem from two or more disciplines.

The work would seek to piece together various bits of information in order to create the best possible whole. The aim would be to identify and illuminate the knowledge which is common to a field or discipline, rather than espouse the position of one individual or school within that discipline.

The test of adequacy would be whether the effort succeeded in encompassing the whole of what has been learned through systematic inquiry and whether the whole has become something more than merely the sum of the parts. This is quite a different test than whether the researcher has added a part or improved on the methodology of a previous research attempt.

The grants would be available only to researchers who have become established and gained some recognition in their discipline. This is critical in order to keep the program from being perceived as an opportunity for support for less-experienced researchers who have not conducted original research.

The other emphasis would be on clarity and simplicity in communication, so that readers other than those in that particular discipline can com-

prehend it. The writers should think of themselves as representing their discipline or, more broadly, the social sciences, to all those who have need for the knowledge generated by the discipline.

An Evaluation Agenda

> *We need to obtain the maximum knowledge possible from already existing programs, demonstrations, and pilot projects aimed at assisting youth in the transition to work, before launching lengthy and expensive experiments that reproduce the same program designs.*

During the last decade, numerous programs have been implemented, particularly at the local level, which are developing reputations for effectiveness in addressing some of the problems youth experience in the transition. They have been deemed "effective," more often than not, based on the judgments of responsible observers and participants, rather than as a result of systematic evaluation. These programs contain an abundance of information which, if retrievable, could add much to the already-existing information base regarding (1) what approaches, not well known at the national level, are successfully aiding youth in their transition to work, (2) how these approaches are implemented, and (3) what works well enough to merit replication elsewhere.

Although there are limitations on how much can be learned by evaluating, on a post hoc basis, operational programs which have incorporated few provisions for evaluation, post hoc consideration could

serve as an important tool for deriving information for research, planning, and policy guidance purposes. By using existing data sources, such as program archives, periodic surveys, and participant recollections, it would be possible to collect useful data relating to program activities, immediate outcomes, and the impact of these activities and outcomes.

One method which seeks to ensure reliability and validity of post hoc measures is the identification of indicators which constitute actual evidence that something did or did not happen. We can identify such indicators by constructing a program rationale as a roadmap for the evaluator. The rationale details such items as target group, proposed activities, immediate outcomes desired, and immediate outcomes achieved. Post hoc evaluation can then be performed by relying on a written program rationale and by concentrating on the strongest available empirical links between program inputs and actual program outcomes, as mediated by environmental and organizational variables.

By adopting such procedures, much existing knowledge can be drawn from programs which are already operational, at less cost and within a shorter time-frame than that required by the development and implementation of new experiments. We have identified forty such programs which have reputations for effectiveness in addressing the transition needs of youth. Although some of these changes
have conducted in-house evaluations of short-term programmatic impacts on participants, all of them, to our knowledge, have not been assessed according to formal evaluative criteria, particularly with regard to longer term impacts. The inventory presented does not claim to be complete;

it represents a selective sample of a variety of government, private, and local programs dealing with different aspects of the transition.

Among the programs included in the inventory are such programs as the Emergency Home Repair (currently being replicated under YEDPA), Harbor City Learning Program (Baltimore, Maryland), and Youth Pride, Inc. (Washington, D.C.). Equally respected efforts worthy of closer examination include Students, Incorporated (Las Cruces, New Mexico), the Vocational Foundation, Inc. (New York City), and Project Space (Boston, Massachusetts). These programs, and the others identified in the inventory, address transition needs in such areas as career guidance and counseling, job placement, occupational information, use of local community resources, and work/service experience. Knowledge drawn from these operational experiences can play an important role in informing further research and experimentation, using already existing data bases.

New Program Experimentation

New programmatic responses, carried out rigorously and from careful design, are needed to (1) identify effective actions for broader application, (2) close knowledge gaps about the dynamics of the transition, and (3) create operating models that are transportable to other places. The possibilities advanced in each of the areas enumerated below are considered missing links in the chain that connects education and work. Experiments in these areas would significantly expand knowledge necessary either for a better understanding of the youth transition or broader use of a proven practice.

Action experiments are needed to improve the quality and local availability of basic occupational and labor market information.

Proposals for experimentation include:

- Several well-developed local models, in which the necessary occupational information is collected on a comprehensive and systematic basis, would be supported by federal resources and would serve as examples and teaching laboratories for other communities.

- One or more local TV programs on occupational information would be supported and stimulated, with a broadly representative group of sponsors at the community level. This program could present the content of careers and jobs through sketches, interviews, and tapes of the workplace as well as provide job opening announcements, employer-sponsored advertisements for young workers, and information on occupational training/education opportunities.

- In an effort to educate and inform employers, counselors, program administrators, parents, and youth, there would be developed a complete, readable compendium of federal, state, and local laws affecting youth employment in a particular community. Dissemination of this compendium would be accompanied by an information/education program, utilizing workshops and the local media to inform interested groups of the guide's availability and content.

Local communities need assistance in the establishment of job placement services for youth.

Several carefully conceived models of job placement services would be developed to demonstrate to interested communities the processes of resolving difficulties experienced by such services, to provide documentation of the effectiveness of these services, and to enable the

development of complete materials (including technical manuals) for use in replicating the models. The models would vary in structure in order to offer communities a choice of approaches and configurations. Possible models might include the following:

- Public Employment Service Model
- Joint School and Employment Service Models (with several variations in areas of responsibility and staffing)
- Joint School and CETA Models (with several variations in areas of responsibility and staffing)
- School-Based Model
- Independent Community-Based Organization Model
- Tripartite Model (semi-private organization with equal governing representation from government, employers, and unions)

There are several existing student placement operations that could be used as models if there were agreement and resources to prepare the materials necessary for others to use in installing them elsewhere.

> *In order to increase opportunities for age integration and greater participation by youth in the pursuits of adults, a major structural approach to the age separation problem is proposed.*

In one or two medium-sized communities, the local school system and university would enter into a partnership to conceptualize a comprehensive and relational education system, train the staff who would manage such a system, and enlist the support and involvement of all the community's institutions, including employing institutions, in delivering the education. Based on Lawrence Cremin's restructuring of the approach to

education as detailed in Public Education, this experiment deals with the role such broadly-based preparation, involving all of the community's institutions containing a learning potential, would have in the assumption of adult roles generally and transition to work roles specifically. Youth would be brought into contact with others of all age levels during their developmental years rather than segregated into age homogeneous classrooms and institutions, as has been the trend for many decades.

> *Given the extreme employment problems of disadvantaged youth, there is need for local problem-solving initiatives by those private sector institutions which have the power to provide private employment opportunity to disadvantaged youth.*

Attempts at such local problem-solving already exist, and more are being urged. As elements of a research and experimentation strategy, the following possibilities should be considered:

- A number of local collaborations of private institutions would be created or expanded for the purpose of increasing job opportunities for disadvantaged youth through concerted collaborative effort. The actions of these groups would be carefully observed and recorded in order to determine whether such groups can and do increase private employment opportunity for disadvantaged youth and whether the knowledge gained from this effort can be of use to other communities.

- A number of experimental youth enterprises would be created to perform needed community services. With an Urban Youth Enterprise Corporation providing the necessary support and training, the youth themselves would perform the full range of administrative duties involved in operating the enterprise.

- The access of central city youth to job opportunities outside the city would be increased by job brokering

and transportation arrangements at a number of sites where suburban service industries are chronically short on labor. The purpose of these experiments would be to determine whether the growth of private youth jobs outside the city can be utilized to help relieve central city job shortage through the use of local job brokers and greater availability of low-cost transportation.

- A Youth Employment Development Program would be designed and implemented by or in cooperation with employers traditionally offering "youth jobs," such as the fast food chains. Such a program would attempt to determine whether extra effort and employer cooperation can improve the value of "youth jobs," by developing a plan for each employee to perform the entire range of tasks within the business and by tracking youth participants over time to determine how they fare in terms of career progression within the firm and when they leave.

With the growing interest in employment and educational development through experience, structured experiments are needed to determine actual benefits gained, address problems encountered, and provide models for planned observation.

There is enough uncertainty about how to overcome barriers to work/service experience at the secondary level and what its benefits are to make the growth of systematic arrangements for interrelating education and experience surprisingly slow. Live structured experiments present the most certain way to resolve some of these matters, while providing operating models for possible replication.

- An experimental effort to establish a single accepted method of community-wide management of work experience programs would be undertaken. The experiment would consist of a single operation, established by a consortium of all the schools, using a carefully selected staff to work with employers. The staff

would develop work experience opportunities which would be allocated to each school. Such a system would provide a central contact point for employers and school personnel and would eliminate current confusion and duplication of effort involved in the development of work experience opportunities.

- A new development report or "experiential passport" would be devised as a companion to the "educational passports" (such as diplomas, report cards, test scores, etc.). The experiential passport would provide an accounting of experience gained through extracurricular school activities, family responsibilities, volunteer service, part-time and summer employment, tutoring, and similar activities. The objectives of developing such a report would be the acceptance of a widely-known report assessing developmental experience, increasing articulation by employers of the kind of developmental experiences they desire, and a growth in the extent to which youth seek such experiences and adults help to provide them.

- One or more work experience programs would be carefully observed in order to identify the barriers actually encountered in the implementation and expansion of work experience opportunities and the means used to overcome these barriers. A desired product would be a technical assistance manual addressing the problems encountered, the approaches taken to deal with these problems, and the results.

- A work experience program model would be constructed and monitored in order to identify the pattern of youth's movement from schooling to full-time employment through work experience programs and to determine the extent to which this pattern differs from one where there is no planned and arranged intermixture of education and experience. The objective would be to determine whether the integration of experience with classroom education enhances youth's ability to move into the employment most consonant with the individual's potential and the economy's needs.

- A work experience program model would be constructed and monitored in order to determine if work experience, alternating with classroom study, increases youth's attainment of traditional learning objectives.

- A number of "planned variation" work experience programs would be designed in order to develop, through comparative analysis, information about best practices and significant variables, such as length of experience and levels of responsibility.

> *Program experimentation is needed in the area of youth transition guidance and counseling services to address the fragmented institutional conditions which make the provision of services difficult and frustrating.*

Seeking to capitalize on the natural ferment of ideas and energies already available to program developers, the proposed experimentation is designed to conceptualize and test a number of models which would bring the reality of transition guidance and counseling services closer to the goal of what a quality program could accomplish.

- Federal, state, and local agencies would engage in multi-lateral coordination of efforts to encourage improved community participation in career guidance and counseling activities. Those federal agencies principally identified with guidance and counseling services would bring federal prestige and visibility to bear as an incentive for local agency personnel to initiate and participate constructively in comprehensive community career guidance projects. Direct assistance could take the form of technical assistance workshops, inclusion of communities in related federal programs, etc. Research addressed by such program models would concern the types, volume, and results of local career guidance initiatives resulting from the impetus of multi-lateral collaboration and the quality and effectiveness of the actual collaboration process.

- Experimental programs would be developed to test the capacity of the private sector to involve itself in transition programs by applying innovative incentives for participation in the area of career guidance. Financial incentives might include reimbursement for time contributed to program planning and development;

non-financial incentives could include removal of administrative barriers and creation of new risk-sharing methods of student insurance. Local programmatic experiments employing varieties of "incentive packages" could be designed and implemented to test the utility of various incentives as determinants of the volume and quality of individual and institutional participation by the private sector in career guidance programs.

- Project CAUSE would be reintroduced as a program experiment to establish paraprofessional career roles within the mainstream of the profession. Research in this area would involve a careful analysis of the impact of paraprofessionals on counseling programs in schools, employment service agencies, and elsewhere.

- Career guidance teams, committees, and/or centers would be established to improve inter- and intra-agency communication and collaborative decision-making for career guidance at the local level. Improved mechanisms for providing career guidance might include: career guidance teams within schools; career guidance committees across education and/or skill training institutions; or community career centers as joint undertakings of several agencies.

- One or more models would be developed to provide intensive vocational and career guidance services to in-school youth at the secondary level. These models could be based on the Experience-Based Career Education approach, expansion of the traditional counseling approach, or a joint school-employment service model.

Additional knowledge, obtained through programmatic experiments, would be highly desirable for shaping an enlarged community and national service role within a youth transition policy.

Among the issues involved in the debate surrounding the enlargement of service opportunity for youth are whether such service provides real experience for in-school youth to aid maturation and increase opportunities

for out-of-school youth unable to find paid employment or seeking experience different from that available in the market economy. Some knowledge of these issues could be obtained by the careful structuring of the following experiments:

- A variety of remuneration approaches to service programs would be implemented in order to determine whether a particular approach works better for some participants and whether there is one best approach or a number of approaches which are effective.

- Experiments would be conducted in an effort to determine the practical means for identifying what services the specific community wants and needs performed through service programs. These experiments would seek to determine whether it is good practice to survey community organizations in order to obtain their perceptions of what services are needed or whether it is more useful to survey local elected officials. A third variation might be to engage youth to survey citizen needs and preferences directly.

- A comparative study would be conducted to examine the educational value and improvement of the transition process for individuals participating in a traditional work experience program compared with those participating in a community service experience program. Such a controlled experiment would help determine whether community service experience produces the same results (or better) than traditional work experience and could therefore be a viable alternative to regular jobs.

Initiatives for rural areas need to focus on local development of efforts which are structured to enable comprehensive approaches to the rural youth transition problem, with the involvement of all relevant sectors of the community.

In constructing programmatic experiments for rural youth, there is a need to learn more about the youth transition process in the varied

rural environments, recognizing that improvement of youth opportunities in rural areas will not be achieved without a comprehensive local strategy which integrates educational and economic development activities. The proposed experiments would address rural transition needs from such a perspective.

- Current work-education councils in rural areas would form the base for an expanded "Rural Consortium" which would include broad geographical and ethnic representation. These councils would develop a detailed profile of the youth transition in their community, including studies of local social and economic organization. They could also be the vehicle for establishing a comprehensive and systematic community approach to the problems of youth transition.

- Regional Technical Assistance Centers would be established and supported to assist local school-to-work initiatives. These Centers would be responsible for the retrieval and dissemination of pertinent transition information, its analysis and adaptation to local needs, and the training of local officials, teachers, and citizens involved in transition activities. The establishment of a number of Centers on a demonstration basis would provide an opportunity to determine if technical assistance and access to information play a significant role in stimulating and improving local youth transition activities in rural areas.

- In order to focus simultaneously on the improvement of educational/training opportunities and the creation of more work opportunities, a new organization, the Community Development Corporation (CDC) would be established, under the auspices of the local school board. The purposes of the CDC would be to work for the economic and social welfare of the community as a whole and to complement existing public vocational education programs and institutions, while concomitantly becoming an integral part of the educational experience of rural high school students. The CDC would function as an economic development program, community planning agency, manpower development project, career education program, and community services agency. The establishment and support of several CDCs would provide an opportunity to determine if integration of educational and economic development, through the creation of a new institution, can bring about positive change in rural areas.

Survey Research Needs

There are a number of remaining knowledge gaps that could be filled by traditional survey research methods. The areas selected do not cover all unknowns by any means but are the result of judgments concerning importance from the standpoint of public policy, the state of existing knowledge, and the existence of opportunities and methodologies for moving forward.

Occupational and labor market information is likely important to labor market success, but there is little research on its impact or on alternative delivery systems.

A review of actual research on the difference having occupational information can make in the quality of the transition discloses that very little has been performed and what has been done is based on very limited tests of occupational knowledge (the Parnes longitudinal study). The existence of longitudinal surveys offers opportunities for finding out the role of such knowledge, and the fact that the NCES longitudinal study of the "Class of 1980" is still in design offers a unique opportunity both to determine occupational knowledge and to follow patterns of employment relative to knowledge. In addition this kind of research needs to be coupled with investigation of the merits of alternative delivery systems.

While child labor laws and regulations are much talked about as a possible employment barrier, factual knowledge is extremely limited.

Despite a few limited studies, the issue remains unresolved as to whether in fact the laws themselves act as impediments to youth employment, whether employer confusion and ignorance about the laws cause reluctance in hiring youth, or whether other labor market factors are so predominant that the separate effect of the laws is negligible. A recent study by the Congressional Budget Office confirms the conclusion that there exist no good measurements of the impact of these laws on the actual employment and unemployment of teenagers. Research using confidential, in-depth interviews with actual employer hiring agents (rather than executive-level personnel officers) is recommended for assessing the impact of the laws.

We know little about the nature of teenage work and what role youth-type jobs play in occupational maturation.

The rapid growth in teenage employment has been concentrated heavily in services of one kind or another, particularly in fast food chains and retail trade. We know that youth move around in employment and usually end up in jobs in their twenties different from the jobs held in their teens, but we know very little qualitatively about the nature of that employment. In-depth studies are proposed of those teenage job settings that contain the preponderance of teenagers in order to find out what kind of job experience they have, and what it means to them.

Central city teenage unemployment remains of highest priority for understanding its dynamics and what will reverse steady deterioration.

While many efforts advanced in this report would provide knowledge helpful to central city youth, focused investigation is also necessary. It is recommended that a cooperative research and operations effort undertake to find out how much impact existing approaches would have if they were used to saturation in a limited number of places. Then we would know how much the problem will yield to increasing quantity as compared with the need to invent new approaches. A related issue calls for exploring the relationship between income transfer programs and work motivations for teenagers.

A number of specific approaches are proposed for dealing with youth employment problems that result from credentialing requirements unrelated to performance.

Research is needed to develop better concepts of competence and definitions and measures for prediction and performance evaluations. New techniques for analyzing jobs, and especially job performers, are an important part of such research. The result could be more fair and equitable job entry criteria and more productive selection and training activities.

The potential of in-school work experience needs understanding that could be achieved through existing and planned longitudinal surveys.

Despite the increasing prominence of work experience as a means of contributing to youth's successful transition to work, there are only limited data available regarding the role such experience during schooling plays in later adaptation to the work environment. The impact of such experience can be determined through analysis of existing data in longitudinal surveys and through inclusion of this research objective in the new "Class of 1980" longitudinal study being sponsored by the National Center for Education Statistics.

Adequate research support for school curriculum change is a growing need, as vocational education becomes more flexible and adaptive.

The need to acquire the right information for decisions about curricula in vocational and occupational education remains important. Research on curriculum adjustment should not be defined too narrowly because leaders in vocational education are advocating change and are articulating the need for more programmatic flexibility, closer linkages to the economic sector, and broader preparation for change. In addition, research for curriculum planning must go well beyond traditional occupational projections to include the whole of industry hiring and training practices.

TRANSITION INDICATORS: A STRATEGY FOR TRACKING CHANGE

The record-keeping system of the transition process should provide us with a much fuller portrayal of the complex period during which young people pass through the transition from schooling to working. A full understanding of the dynamics of this process will emerge only through long and painstaking research and experimentation, which is the subject of Parts II and III of this report.

Such painstaking research takes time and, of necessity, usually addresses only a small piece of the whole. Even when successful, these efforts typically give information about relationships only at a particular point in time, and when periodically collected national statistics are used in such research, the limitation of what is presently contained in those statistics is severe. The new longitudinal studies fill the long-existing gap of not knowing what is happening to the same people over a period of time, but they do not tell us how things are changing for the new waves of youth entering the labor force, nor what is going on in the institutions through which they pass.

Therefore, in addition to a program of systematic research, there is a great need for a comprehensive record-keeping system, a system of indicators, in order to know where we are in the youth transition and to provide the research community with the data it needs to find

relationships among the various developments.

The need for a general system of indicators of employment well-being was advanced in the Manpower Report of the President 10 years ago, in a section called "Toward Manpower Indicators." It was reported then that we had "limited and often fragmentary statistical indications -- rather than indicators, in any formal sense of the term -- of where we stand and the direction in which we are moving in relation to desired objectives." That is still the case, particularly in the transitions from school to work, despite considerable recent attention to this issue.

In that 1968 Manpower Report, several examples were provided of needed indicators. One of them was "the minimum age at which employers hire." It was said that if an indicator shows that the customary minimum age is being advanced, trouble can be expected as school leavers find they are not old enough to enter employment. That has, in fact, probably happened. But we still don't have such a measure which would enable comparisons over time.

A great deal of developmental work has taken place in the last fifteen years on "social indicators," in terms of concepts and procedures, and there are a number of publications by government and private organizations that have started to put these concepts into practice. As a result, there is a body of work to build on in creating a useful set of indicators for the transition from school to work.

The task of a research office is not to collect data and publish a continuing series of such indicators but to perform or commission

the developmental work, create the design, and specify data requirements. It is then up to policy officials to arrange for the necessary budget and the implementation. The purpose of this section is, first, to examine the case for such a set of indicators, second, to provide discussion of possible content, and, third, to suggest initial actions designed to get development under way.

Need for a System of Transition Indicators

As noted above, the extent of societal and economic happenings that affect the transition from school to work are so extensive as to defy ad hoc research investigation. There is no way that the knowledge base can be built with only individual research projects, seeking new data for a particular point in time and using available data on changes over the course of time. The range of relevant knowledge is well illustrated in Volume I of this report. This is not to suggest, however, that since "everything affects everything else," we try to create a system too complex to develop and maintain; this has to be a practical as well as a comprehensive undertaking.

The lack of systematic monitoring of the transition process results partly from the fact that the transition has not really been closely attended by institutions in the United States. Beatrice Reubens, in her recent international study, confirms this in her comparison of the U.S. to Europe:

> The United States stands out for the degree of its reliance on individual schools and colleges; its weak provision of all transition services; its spotty history of cooperation with the employment service, employers, and trade unions; and the great diversity of standards of practice from one place to another (Reubens, 1977).

In our reliance on individual schools and colleges, we acted largely on the assumption that the employment connection would take care of itself, if the educational preparation was adequate. Our desire for free markets and our discipline of economics have led us to assume that youth and jobs would find each other, to the satisfaction of all concerned. Our federal-state-local divisions of powers and responsibility have, probably to our great advantage, resulted in a variety of state and local approaches, instead of a central national youth policy and program.

All of this is perhaps as it should be. But it has left us without knowledge of what is going on, a lack that makes it impossible: (a) to know how matters are changing; (b) to know whether one change or trend is associated with another; and (c) for any one unit of government or a community to know how its actions compare with those of others.

One could make too much of a measurement system, but the fact of the matter is that a symbiotic relationship has evolved between what we measure and what we do about problems. For example, the act of creating a measure of the extent to which job placement intermediaries exist for youth still in school, and about to leave, may itself affect decisions about whether to expand the availability of such intermediaries.

In turn, the expansion of intermediaries may lead to demands for better measures of the degree to which they exist around the nation.

Existing trend measures have their roots in a past in which it was assumed that the transition from school to work was not a problem but rather a phase which would resolve itself with time. The evidence is increasing that this is no longer true, if it ever was, in an urbanized, industrialized society. Data now available are largely the by-products of systems designed to serve other measurement and policy purposes; what we need is a development effort to create a new system of indicators, folding into it existing information flows and expanding information gathering where it is deficient. The new system of indicators would conform to a new consciousness about transition processes and problems.

The basic data on the school side of being young concern enrollment levels and the broad categories of subject matter being studied by youth. We know embarrassingly little about the trends in learning achievement. What we do know is based largely on tests, such as the SAT and ACT, which are designed to predict performances at the next educational level (CEEB, 1977). We know practically nothing about how well the public education system is designed or is changing to aid the transition from school to the work system or any other system, for that matter.

A few examples will make the point. We have counts of how many counselors there are in the secondary schools, but we do not know what they do with their time (except for studies by Campbell, 1968, and Hilton, 1973). We do not know how much counseling time is actually applied to helping youth make the move to work, as compared to further education. Nor do we have refinements beyond this in terms of information about counselor familiarity with the work world, about the easing of requirements that only teachers can become counselors, and about the use of community volunteers to supplement the scarce time of professionals.

Except for one superficial survey of school-based job placement systems (DHEW, 1976), data are not available on the degree to which in-school youth have access to placement services provided by the schools, how many applications the services take, or how many students they place in jobs. In fact, for a number of years, the record-keeping lapsed on services of this nature provided by the U.S. Employment Service. Similarly, we know practically nothing about the extent of placement services provided to students by community-based organizations other than the schools and the Employment Service.

With regard to those postsecondary education institutions that provide specific occupational skills, we have numbers every year on enrollments and none on completions (for a complete review of inadequacies in the measurement of "the training force," see Wirtz

and Goldstein, 1975). We know a great deal about school dropout rates but nothing about school return rates, although much has been done to make the "stop out" and the "considered break" practical and respectable.

We measure student and school leaver employment success and failure largely with "unemployment" concepts probably more applicable to work-experienced adults than to those still in the transition. In so doing, we fail to distinguish among the varieties of employment associated with the stages of transition: the jobs that provide good experiences to students and help them grow into employment; the jobs that are strictly youth jobs and are usually abandoned quickly; the jobs that may teach bad work habits and work attitudes (see particularly the work of Peter Doeringer); the jobs that could be considered bridge jobs to something better (Spring); and the jobs that are considered entry rungs on an adult job ladder.

We hear much about what employers say they want in a young worker, but we know nothing about the actual behavior of employer hiring practices toward youth over time and less still about the kinds of experience and empirical testing on which employers base these hiring policies.

Only when we can observe these happenings over time can we get an idea of what factors are related. The need is for more than data for research, however. We also need to know what is going on in order to figure out what, if anything, should be done or undone.

Keeping Up With Changing Concepts

Measurements/indicators are based essentially on our concepts of what we want to see happen. For instance, we think people looking for work should be able to find it, so we have employment and unemployment data. We have such commitment to the concept of providing work for all seeking it that where unemployment occurs, it has implications not just for how individuals should act, change, or prepare themselves but for government and education, training, and intermediary institutions as well.

Our concept of what constitutes an effective transition from school to work is changing, and as it changes, our measures must change to reflect this shift. Current measures are based on a relatively simple concept of what kinds of options young people ought to be able to consider. For young men, the clear societal preference has been to gain as much education as possible before moving on to something else. If a young man left school prior to high school or college completion, then the military entered as the next socializing factor. For young women, the approved options were either further education or marriage and family life. In actuality, conditions have always been more complex, but measurements are mechanisms for being able to compare, in general, how we want things to be with how they actually are. For example, we wanted youth to stay in school until they completed high school, so we developed retention and dropout measures.

Currently, our perceptions of what youth want and what we want for them, in general, seem to be more complex. Our concern is for not just more education but the kind of education or the option to mix education with experience; not just employment but the quality and character of the employment; not only the military but other forms of service too; and all the complex relationships and linkages we'd like to establish between this widening array of youth options to make the lengthening period of transition to full-time, career employment fruitful and rewarding to the individual and society.

New "indicators" of the quality of youth's transition from school to work can only be based on a careful reading of societal consensus about what the elements of a successful transition are. As these elements are better understood, and as social consensus becomes associated with them, we will be looking at the behavior of youth, to see if their actions correspond to our precepts, as well as at major institutions and government at all levels, to see whether their policies and practices are in consonance with society's expectations.

The Content of Transition Indicators

Transition indicators will have to develop within a conceptual framework. Ideally, this framework should encompass the whole of the transition process, even if systematic work must start with a piece of it. Such a framework has been used in reporting on existing programs and conditions in the transition.

This framework is proposed as at least a starting point for discussion.

The framework has three elements, all interrelated:

A. Individual Circumstance

B. Institutions: Their Quality and Behavior

C. Changes in Society

Individual youth (A) find themselves in circumstances that affect their opportunities. These include their family, neighborhood, sex, and race or ethnic group. These circumstances (or the way society perceives these circumstances) very much affect youth's development and the opportunities they have. Also included here is the critical matter of individual status with regard to successful transition from school to work.

The quality and behavior of institutions (B) is a key factor in whether the transition to work is successful. Either these institutions have been mandated by society to make the transition successful, or their position in the transition is a critical one.

The broad social and economic changes (C) going on in society affect the opportunity structure in ways often beyond the control of individual youth and the institutions which serve them. For example, technological change affects the nature of employment and opportunity; the reduction in farming forces migration to the city; and changed societal attitudes toward sex roles affect the kind of work to which young women can realistically aspire.

While these are reasonably distinct categories at a particular point in time, changes in one category effect changes in the others

over the course of time. A deterioration in the economic and family support circumstances of individual youth (A) places strains on education institutions (B) to "make up" for the resulting learning deficits over which the institutions had no control. At the same time, declining performance of these institutions can adversely affect individual youth. A long recession (C) can hamper institutions in securing employment opportunities for youth and may plunge more families into economic hardship and a deteriorating learning environment.

The three sections which follow suggest the nature of a development effort which might be undertaken to create a system of transition indicators. Since the undertaking is fairly large, the discussion below is selective in illustrating approaches and tries to suggest where the priorities ought to be. Thus, only one area is developed for individual circumstance (A), while a fairly full development (though strictly illustrative) is provided for institutions (B) and only brief mention of societal change (C).

A. Individual Circumstance

The priority task in the area of tracking the individual well-being of youth, with regard to the transition, is getting better measures of their status than that provided by the youth unemployment rate. There is probably a good case for continuing to collect standard unemployment information for 16 to 19 year olds, in order to calculate a national unemployment rate and maintain historical continuity. But the teenage unemployment rate alone is an inadequate measure of youth well-being in the transition from school to work, for the following reasons:

1. The most well-known problem is that of the discouraged workers who give up looking for work and therefore are no longer counted. This has been the topic of much discussion, but its importance grows as the labor force participation rates of black central city youth continue to decline.

2. The teenage unemployment rate, as conventionally used, averages together youth just starting to look for a part-time job for one or more hours a week with those youth unsuccessfully seeking full-time work for six months. These situations are too dissimilar to use the rate to identify the population in need of assistance.

3. The rate for teenagers also averages together youth from affluent families, whose unemployed status is due to a long search for a better job than those available to them, and youth who are not supported or are inadequately supported by their families and who have a critical need for any decent paying job, where none can be found.

4. The rate is subject to change simply with increased labor force activity on the part of school-going youth. As they move from part-time school year jobs to full-time Christmas vacation jobs to full-time summer jobs, they can create a higher measured youth unemployment rate, even though they may find these jobs relatively quickly.

5. The rate is not determined by a survey of youth themselves but is based typically on what parents say their teenage children want and are doing.

A research and development effort would seek a companion set of measures of youth status and success with regard to the transition from school to work. It would attempt to capture:

- the situation of youth who are looking mainly for the experience with which to achieve their career objectives and are unable to find it;
- the situation of youth looking mainly for income and unable to find it;
- the situation of teenagers unsatisfactorily employed, from their standpoint, and seeking other work; and
- the situation of youth seeking skill training and unable to find it.

Admittedly, it is difficult to develop a new statistical measure around which a necessary consensus can emerge. But the situation of teenage youth has changed from several decades ago when they were first in school and then in the full-time labor force seeking regular adult jobs. While many still follow that pattern, the teen years have become transition years, with regard to schooling and employment, where youth straddle both worlds until they are 20, 21, or older. It is an important life transition which needs to be observed through measures relevant to it.

B. Institutions

While it is desirable to have a complete set of indicators for all three elements, the most logical place to make a substantial initial investment would be with the quality and behavior of institutions. For one reason, these are matters that can be affected directly by public and private policy. For another, we are already far out in front in collecting data directly from youth (in the Parnes survey and the Class of '72 study, for two significant examples). We are missing a vital piece of intelligence when we do not know what is happening in, to, and among the institutions involved in the school-to-work transition. If we were then to fill in other information gaps in our statistical series, we would be a great deal closer to bringing the availability of information about the transition up to the level of recent rhetoric about "improving the transition from school to work."

The purpose of this section is not so much to develop a set of indicators as it is to illustrate possible content for further discussion of their development. The previous discussion of the case for transition indicators identifies some of the shortcomings of existing information. It would be useful to have information about institutions in areas such as those tentatively identified below:

ILLUSTRATIVE TRANSITION INDICATORS

1. INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR LEARNING

A. Educating Institutions

- Number of secondary school students per person-year of employment counseling
- Adequacy of knowledge of persons performing employment counseling
- Realistic certification requirements for employment counseling
- Degree of supplementation of professional counselors with volunteers and paraprofessionals
- Use of resources in the community for counseling and employment orientation
- Existence of linkages with employers, unions, and public employment and training services
- Achievement of necessary basic skills for employment
- Provision of quality skill training needed by employers
- Identification and follow-up of early school leavers
- Ease with which stopouts from school can return
- Proportion of students getting some of their education "in the community"
- Degree of development of career education in the secondary schools

B. Experience Institutions

- Proportion of junior high school students having opportunity for "work exploration"
- Proportion of secondary school students having opportunity for planned work experience
- Proportion of secondary school students having opportunity for service experience

- Flexibility of schools in scheduling classwork to fit a work experience program
- Cooperativeness of employers in tailoring work experience opportunities to fit school schedules
- Degree of integration of classroom education and work and service experience
- Degree of development of crediting systems for work experience

2. LABOR MARKET INTERMEDIARIES

A. Job Placement Institutions

- Extent of job placement services provided to in-school youth and to students about to leave school
  - -- by schools
  - -- by the public employment service
  - -- jointly by schools and the employment service
  - -- by CETA and other organizations
- Extent to which job placement services follow up youth to see what happened to them
- Extent to which employers and applicants respect the job placement service and are willing to use it

B. Providers of Occupational Information

- Provision of information relevant to the local labor market as well as national labor market
- Dissemination of information in usable forms
- Collection of information on job vacancies
- Updating of information used in computerized information systems
- Assistance to career educators in getting information about employment to students

3. REGULATING INSTITUTIONS

- Updating of hazardous occupation lists
- Provision of clear information to schools, employers, and intermediaries on what can be done under child labor laws
- Assistance to employers in legitimate utilization of learner wage rates
- Counseling services for employers on how to avoid regulatory problems in hiring youth, such as endangering workmen's compensation coverage

4. EMPLOYMENT INSTITUTIONS (employers and unions)

- Use of objective criteria in hiring youth, rather than blanket exclusions based on age (and, generally, attitudes toward youth)
- Advice to schools on appropriate skill training
- Provision of training to young entry level workers
- Cooperation with labor market intermediaries, such as agencies providing placement and occupational services
- Determination of productivity of youth relative to other age groups

5. ARRANGEMENTS FOR COLLABORATION

- Existence of informal linkages between schools, employers, unions
- Existence of formal collaborative arrangements such as Community Education-Work Councils
- Determination of whether such collaboratives are affecting the process of transition from school to work

These are the checkpoints along the way toward an effective transition to work or, at least, a hypothesis as to what they are. There is enough uncertainty as to what constitutes desirable behavior on the part of institutions to generate considerable discussion of the specifics. While there is a large amount of research involved in establishing empirically what makes how much of a difference and selecting indicators on this basis, we know enough now to move at least to the next stage of a concentrated development effort.

The question should be left open at this point regarding whether to seek indicators to track change at the community level, whether to aggregate at the national level, or whether to do both. Also, the frequency of information collection would have to be determined: whether it should be done every two years, every five, or every ten.

C. Changes in Society

Mention is made here of this element only for the sake of completeness. No specific proposals are made for work on transition-related indicators of changes in the society and the economy. There has been considerable work done on indicators of broad social and economic change, culminating in two volumes of Social Indicators, published in 1973 and 1976. This work goes on for the whole of the nation, in all sectors of society and among most public policy concerns. If a full set of indicators were the aim, to be published in one place,

and covering Individual Circumstance, Institutions, and Society, then selection would be required from Social Indicators. Work on social indicators proceeds along several fronts, with one of the more sophisticated recent efforts being Social Indicators of Well Being: America's Perceptions of Life Quality, by Frank Andrews and Stephen Witley.

The ability to watch movements over time among all three sets of indicators described in this Part would hopefully result in improved understanding of what changes in one sphere of the youth transition are associated with changes in another, although causal relationships of this kind would be elusive in such macro measures.

Initial Steps

There are obviously more ways than one to go about the task of developing transition indicators. The most typical approach,which would follow any decision to publish something with such a title, would be to survey quickly already collected data that might conceivably fit. These tables would be assembled and preceded by some comments as to what they contain and a few laments about the inadequacy of existing data. Considerably more than this is envisioned here.

The development of transitional indicators includes the identification of the information needed for them and approaches to obtaining it. Included will be information about education, work, community, and public institucions. The approach must be a practical

one and should rest on a reasonable consensus as to what should be - and can be - obtained.

If the Department of Labor were to take the initiative, it would be prudent to involve the education agencies at the outset, for ultimately a large amount of the new information will have to come from local education agencies. The information should not be limited to a segment of the transition only because of jurisdictional considerations.

There would be initial discussion of whether the desired outcome is a plan to be implemented with federal funding or the development of guides and procedures for local entities to develop their own set of indicators, possibly with technical assistance being provided them. A few sequential steps are suggested for discussion.

1. The thinking, knowledge, and experience involved here will not all be found in the same place. It would be desirable to ask several individuals or groups to develop a conceptual scheme, through the commissioning of papers. This undertaking should be of modest expense, since only those people who already have the knowledge and insights to make a significant contribution should be approached.

2. The initiating research office would use these papers as raw material for putting together a single plan, for wide review.

3. An important step in that review would be to seek the advice of broadly representative community organizations, actually dealing with the transition from school to work, to see whether it is the kind of information they think important to have.

4. It would be desirable to create a Panel for a final review by knowledgeable experts.

5. It would be necessary to seek a budget. Since a number of agencies would have to be involved in collecting the information, some coordination would be necessary. While it would probably be difficult to accomplish, it would be most effective for the initiating office to receive the funds (or earmark existing funds) and distribute them to the various information gatherers.

6. Publication could commence when enough information had been gathered from existing and new sources, without waiting for full implementation of the plan. Succeeding series could incorporate new areas when information becomes available.

We have proposed that a significant element of a research and development strategy in the transition from school to work is in the creation of local or national indicators (or both) that enable us to track relevant developments over time. These exist in changing individual circumstance, changing behavior of key institutions, and changing trends in the economy and society which affect the transition. While the ideal objective would be to have a complete system of indicators, the more pressing unmet need is in the actions and activities of institutions, and the possibilities here are more thoroughly examined. Finally, we have suggested some specific steps toward the development of indicators for further discussion.

KNOWING WHAT IS KNOWN

There is one very important respect in which "policy research" and "discipline research" differ; in the former there is a great need for synthesis of existing knowledge, while in the latter, all the rewards are for adding bits of new knowledge, however microscopic they might be.*

This accretion of new knowledge in the academic disciplines and in survey research carried on outside the university is important, perhaps even critical. But the basis on which the Ph.D. is awarded and the criteria by which professors are advanced have created a reward system that slights the needs of those who must use social research to make social policy. It also contributes to the failures in social science more generally.

Separatist and Fragmenting Forces

With respect to the more general effect on social science, two factors are particularly important. The first is that the need to contribute new knowledge requires making the case that such knowledge is in fact new...or that new research needs to be undertaken because of a gap in knowledge. It is necessary to prove what isn't known in order to lay claim to having made a contribution. The tendency, therefore,

* There are, of course, other important differences. See James S. Coleman, Policy Research in the Social Sciences, Morristown, New Jersey: General Learning Press, 1972. See also, Paul E. Barton, "Social Science and Social Policy," in Solving Social Problems, edited by Marcello Truzzi and Philip Springer, 1976.

is toward establishing the inadequacies of existing research in order to make room for more. If this is an overstatement in many cases, it is at least true that the system does not promote the establishment of how much is already known. The effect is to exacerbate the problems of social science in establishing a coherent base of knowledge that can be built on rather than rediscovered.

The second general effect on the social sciences is to contribute to the isolation of each discipline from the other and to further specialization and fragmentation within the discipline. This occurs because there are no integrative forces operating when the rewards are almost exclusively for contributing a new bit of knowledge through survey research and for identifying insufficiencies to justify additional research. Only the introduction of rewards for knowledge integration will cause the better analytical minds to tie together what is learned from separate disciplines and branches of disciplines.

With respect to the needs of social policy, the failure to reward synthesis and integration of knowledge seriously limits the utility of research in policy making. The policy maker has little interest in whether a specific piece of new knowledge was created by a particular person. Instead, the need is to know what, in sum, all these bits of knowledge tell us. Nor does it matter to the policy maker (unless he or she happens to be a specialized social scientist) which of the social science disciplines made a discovery, for the problem of public affairs is the focus of attention, not the distinctions made by social scientists in the aspects of the problem which

they study. At any point in time, we need to know what the sum of relevant developed knowledge is, irrespective of the discipline or disciplines that developed it. Policy making requires integrating forces where existing forces are now fragmenting.

This need is particularly acute in attempts of public policy to deal with the transition from school to work and with the generation of adequate youth employment opportunity. Understanding how youth enter economic adulthood and how that entry can be made more certain involves all the social science disciplines, encompassing knowledge of market forces; youth cultures; identity, self-esteem, and motivation; learning theory and practice; juvenile justice administration; employment skill acquisition; and organizational behavior.

The true integration and synthesis of existing knowledge within disciplines and across disciplines is not second-class intellectual activity, not just for the junior research assistant, but for the experienced research mind as well. In fact, seeing how the bits and pieces all fit together may be a much more creative exercise than the wielding of the standard technical tools used in carrying out survey research.

The point of this discussion is that a key new direction for research sponsors to take in the field of the transition from school to work is in providing incentives for good, and even the best, research minds to synthesize existing knowledge and, where this involves different analytical skills and interests, providing

incentives for new people to engage in this activity.

Parallels in Research Leadership

There is a need for a strategy to move more effort into the synthesis of knowledge, within disciplines and across them. The Employment and Training Administration's Office of Research and Development has a history of efforts to improve the structure which provides policy-relevant knowledge.

One very significant example is the Doctoral Dissertation Grant Program. While the research performed is very often of high quality and sometimes much more creative than that performed by research organizations, this is not the principal objective of the program. The stated objective is to "develop greater capability in behavioral sciences related to the employment and training field and to increase the availability of experts as employment and training program administrators, specialists, consultants, and researchers." In short, the objective is to attract talent and develop it, by awarding grants not exceeding $10,000. This effort has been ongoing for more than a decade, and by the spring of 1977, 345 individuals had completed the program (U.S. DOL, 1978).

Another capability building effort of this research office has been the institutional grants program which has enabled the creation of ongoing research efforts within universities and has provided a

means for understanding regional problems.

Strategies which create a capacity for performing needed research are as important as the specific identification of research projects. Proposed below is a small effort to lead the research community toward

a) increasing the synthesis of diverse research efforts so that knowledge can be used by policy makers and

b) bringing to bear knowledge across disciplines as well as within them.

The argument could be made that such a need spans all the substantive concerns of the research office, not just a better understanding of the transition from school to work. The diversity of the variables that affect the school-work transition, however, is unusually great. The teen period of life is one of final socialization into adulthood; it is one of rapid physical growth and search for identity; it is where success in educational achievement becomes intertwined with successful employment adjustment and where the highest risk of violating society's laws exists. These elements do not exist in isolation from each other and cannot be understood in isolation. There is a need, therefore, to integrate knowledge from the several disciplines dealing with the youth situation which is of high priority in public concern.

A Proposal

The specific proposal is that funding be provided to the Office of Research and Development to enable it to undertake a Small Grants Program in Knowledge Integration and Synthesis.

The grants would be for two kinds of synthesis:

a) synthesis of established knowledge in one broad area within a particular discipline and

b) synthesis of knowledge bearing on a particular problem from two or more disciplines.

The work would seek to piece together various bits of information in order to give the best possible whole. The aim would be to identify knowledge that exists, according to a large body of academics. Thus, the work would illuminate the knowledge which is common to the field or discipline, rather than espouse the position of one individual or school within a discipline.

The test of adequacy would be whether the effort succeeded in encompassing the whole of what has been learned through systematic inquiry and whether the whole has become something more than merely the sum of the parts. This is quite a different test than whether the researcher has added a part or improved on the methodology of a previous research attempt.

The grants would be available only to researchers who have become established and gained some recognition in their discipline. This is critical in order to keep the program from being considered an opportunity only for second-class researchers who cannot conduct

original research.

The other emphasis would be on clarity and simplicity in communication, so that readers other than those in that particular discipline can comprehend it. The writers should think of themselves as representing their discipline or, more broadly, the social sciences, to all those who have need for the knowledge generated by the discipline.

If the program were to get a favorable response, within a few years a good share of what is now knowable from already-performed research could be concentrated in a few book-length volumes.

During the conduct of this study, it became clear that the volume of research in the U.S. and abroad is much too great to be brought together in a single attempt at synthesis. For example, in Volume 1 of this report, the section entitled "Update: Youth Labor Market Theory and Research" was intended to summarize the work done since Edward Kalachek's synthesis in 1969. The volume of material was too great, however, to handle within this project; approximately 200 references were identified that were not included in the update. Our experience pointed out the great need that exists in many areas of the school-to-work transition for knowledge integration and synthesis efforts.

FILLING SURVEY RESEARCH GAPS

Any approach to identifying "knowledge gaps," if done systematically, will necessarily identify more than can ever be learned with research resources likely to become available. One, therefore, must be selective. In the process of sifting, we identified seven areas where knowledge is both incomplete and important:

-- the possibly critical role of occupational and labor market information in the transition, and the relative lack of knowledge we have of its effects;

-- the lack of systematic investigation of barriers to youth employment in laws, regulations, and the rules of large institutions;

-- the nature of teenage work, as distinct from adult work, and the role it plays in this critical period of life development;

-- the vast unknowns about the crisis in central city youth unemployment;

-- the nature of youth job performance, the identification of competence, and the establishment of credentials;

-- the role of work experience during the schooling period of life in youth development and career success; and

-- the use of labor market information in the administration of vocational education.

There are undoubtedly "gaps in the gaps." Selection criteria at this point cannot be based on any quantitative factors. The final judgment exercised is based on a sense of importance from a public policy standpoint, a sense of the main trends of developments in dealing with the transition period of life, the state of research knowledge, and the existence of opportunities and known approaches for filling knowledge gaps.

Occupational Knowledge and the Transition

Despite increased interest in determining the effects of occupational information on youth's future labor market success, the empirical data base upon which most research has relied is still relatively scant and fragmented. Prior to 1966, as one researcher points out, "there were no probability sample data on what teenagers knew and did not know about the labor market" (Datta, 1975). Since that time, however, some progress has been made, and a few studies have attempted to elucidate further the correlation between the extent of youth's occupational information and their future labor market success. Unfortunately, most of the research to date has examined short-term consequences only and not long-term impacts.

The first Career Thresholds report described the relationships between a general test of occupational information and characteristics of male youth. Positive associations were noted with age, grade in school, community size, and high school curriculum, but none of these were expressions of net relationships (Parnes et al., 1970). A later analysis, which controlled for several background characteristics, including residence, aptitude, and socioeconomic level, noted a strong net relationship between education attainment and information. In addition, the study found, controlling for all the above factors and several additional ones, that "on the basis of information on average hourly earnings and occupational assignment two years after the administration of the occupational information test, it appears that

youth with superior information were successful in obtaining better and higher paying jobs" (Parnes and Kohen, 1975).

Similar conclusions were reported by Kohen et al.(1977), based on the same data, with further refinements in the analysis. This study provided "empirical support for the widely accepted belief that the extent of a youth's information about the world of work is positively linked to measures of his success in the labor market." It went on to add that "both the earnings and the prestige of a youth's first postschool job are seen to be positively and significantly related to the extent of his occupational information prior to leaving school" (Kohen et al., 1977). The authors suggested that public policy efforts aimed at the generation and dissemination of more labor market information to all youth should continue, with a major thrust directed toward youth of lower socioeconomic levels, who are relatively disadvantaged in this area.

Another study designed to explore "the relationships between specific aspects of career preparation and a variety of actual performance criteria relating to success in the world of work" for a nationally representative sample of male high school graduates reported that the extent of youth's occupational information was "directly related to socioeconomic level of the family and to scholastic aptitude scores" (Grasso, 1975). In addition, the study noted that:

> ...the strong relationship between family background and occupational information is itself a somewhat disturbing finding. It suggests that schools do not do much to compensate for differences in home influence on the breadth of career horizons. Since there is

> evidence that greater occupational information leads to better and higher-paying jobs, net of differences in background and other characteristics, it is clear that information is a very important factor in career preparation. Therefore, we strongly urge educational authorities to give priority to programs that will enhance the amount and kinds of such information among youth (Grasso, 1975).

The nationwide study of student career development, conducted by Prediger, Roth, and Noeth (1973), described the occupational data collected from a nationally representative sample of 32,000 students in 200 schools in 1973. The study examined what students said about their career development status and needs, what they had done regarding occupational exploration and career planning, and what they knew about occupations and career planning.

Prediger et al. concluded that most students could use better occupational information and help in making career decisions. Seventy-eight percent of the eleventh grade students sampled expressed need for help in making career plans. This expressed need for help in making career plans increased, while expressed need for help in other areas decreased from the eighth to the eleventh grade. This need was in sharp contrast to the amount of help students felt they had received. Their lack of knowledge regarding the world of work and the career planning process underscored their need for help.

The study by Darcy, Kauffman, and Milker (1974), on the other hand, showed that there was no significant effect between information and labor market success. Designed to determine the effects of a one-semester manpower economic education course on youth's behavior

related to education and employment over a period of five and one-half years, the study concluded that "enrollment in the course was not an important determinant of labor force success as of the designated survey week approximately eight months following graduation from high school" (Darcy et al., 1974). The study also found no association between extent of world-of-work knowledge and hourly earnings or any other employment indicator.

While these studies have broken new, if contradictory, ground regarding the impact of occupational information, the matter is too important not to pursue more definitive research here. This importance is due to:

- the central significance assigned by economists to information in making labor markets operate efficiently;
- the central role of imparting occupational information in the Career Education movement; and
- the relative inexpensiveness of information vis a vis other services.

The tests of occupational knowledge thus far are quite rudimentary and do not make much distinction as to kinds of knowledge, which include the following categories:

- knowledge of self - self-esteem, values, attitudes, coping skills;
- knowledge of occupational characteristics - specific occupational roles and job duties, psychological aspects of jobs, worker attributes;
- knowledge of occupational preparation requirements - educational requirements, skill requirements;

- knowledge of income differentials - hourly earnings, yearly earnings, age-income curves; and
- general knowledge of the world of work.

More sophisticated measurement instruments are needed than those used in the past. Further, the measures of outcomes need to be more extensive than in existing studies, to include income, job search success and sophistication, occupational prestige attained, and job satisfaction. The start-up of a new National Longitudinal Study of the Class of 1980 (a companion to the "Class of '72" study) offers an immediate opportunity for a more comprehensive investigation in this area. By tracking cohorts of youth through at least the early stages of their post-school work experience, needed information could be obtained on the kind and amount of occupational information necessary to achieve identified outcomes.

The instrument developed and used in the National Assessment of Educational Progress, sponsored by NCES, could be added to longitudinal surveys to better test the difference information makes. A recent NAEP study compares performance of "in-school" and "out-of-school" 17 year olds and young adults (ages 26-35). Findings indicate that the "out-of-school" 17 year olds lack "general knowledge about jobs" and lack three "generally useful" skills: written communication, computation and measurement, and graphic and reference materials skills. All 17 year olds are found to lack information on the training requirements for a number of well-known occupations (e.g. draftsman, plumber, and tool designer). Young adults display marked

superiority in "specific knowledge of jobs."

These types of findings suggest that the NAEP instrument contains sections on general knowledge of jobs, on specific knowledge of jobs, and on generally useful job skills. These instruments could be used as a basis for incorporating a better test of knowledge in the new NLS (Parnes) sample of youth to be interviewed beginning in 1979, or in the NCES study of the "Class of 1980" referred to above. This could produce a combination of (a) an excellent instrument that taps several important domains of occupational information and (b) a comprehensive set of information about the background, education, training,and labor market experience of a national sample of young persons. This would provide an unparalleled opportunity for future research on the role of occupational information.

The research agenda is broader than the determination of what difference occupational information makes in transition success. If such information does make a significant difference, then it is necessary to know how durable these benefits are, how much is retained, and how quickly it becomes out-dated. It is crucial to determine the optimal point of intervention and whether existing occupational information delivery systems are serving youth at that critical point.

Perhaps even more important is the need to examine current delivery mechanisms with a view toward determining who uses them, when, what do the users learn, what kind of counseling should accompany use of occupational information systems, what are the alternative

financing methods for these systems,and how do they affect access and use. Given the fact that there already exist a number of occupational information delivery systems, rather than reinvent the wheel, research should focus on determining the viability of these strategies and increasing access by users to the appropriate system available. If it is learned that youth are not being provided useful information at the time that they need it, then different delivery mechanisms would have to be explored.

Such research efforts as those suggested above would provide us with the critical knowledge needed to determine the role of occupational information in the transition process and would help determine future programmatic thrusts in this area.

Barriers in Law, Practice, and Regulation

In any discussion of youth unemployment, the question is inevitably raised regarding the impact of child labor laws and regulations on youth employment and work experience opportunity. The question is also raised as to whether, in fact, state and federal child labor legislation should or should not be relaxed from the standpoint of protecting youth and preventing abusive practices in the hiring and employment of young people. In general, the consensus seems to be that the laws could be redirected from their regulatory role into an expansion of youth employment opportunities, without endangering the health and safety of young workers, but that it must be done with care, and with

sensitivity to the need not to turn back the clock to times when youth were unprotected and exploited.

Despite several studies in this area, the issue remains unresolved as to whether in fact the laws themselves act as impediments to youth employment, whether employer confusion and ignorance result in reluctance to hire youth, or whether within the reality of the labor market, the laws have little impact on employer hiring policies. A recent review of the situation concluded that, to date, there exist no good measurements of the impact of these laws on the actual employment and unemployment of teenagers (CBO, 1976).

Before undertaking any attempt to review or revise the federal and/or state laws relating to child labor, it would be wise to conduct a large-scale, in-depth survey of employers, representing a cross-section of occupations, to determine if, in fact, revision of such laws would result in any different hiring practices on the part of employers vis a vis youth. Previous (but limited) studies have indicated that those employers preferring to hire employees over 21 would not change this policy, even if the laws governing youth under 21 were relaxed, nor would those employers who currently do hire large numbers of youth increase those numbers substantially if the laws were changed. Research is needed, therefore, to establish whether any changes in hiring policy would result from a comprehensive review and/or revision of current federal and/or state child labor laws. Such research, in order to obtain meaningful information on current and

projected employer practices, must focus on candid, in-depth interviews with actual employer hiring agents, rather than executive-level personnel officers, as previous studies have concluded that youth employment decisions are based mainly on subjective assessments by those who actually make the hiring decisions. Unlike official corporate personnel policy regarding the employment of minority and disadvantaged groups, youth hiring policies have been found to be implicit, locally determined, and diverse within the same firm.

It would be essential to include in this survey employers representing those sectors which traditionally employ a large proportion of youth as well as those which tend to hire few youth (e.g. manufacturers, who may be more affected by child labor laws and hazardous orders than other employers and would theoretically be able to hire more youth if these restrictions were eased). The survey should also include a significant number of small firms, which often tend to hire young workers out of high school for their first full-time jobs and which have not been adequately represented in previous studies, as well as the larger companies which tend to hire older, more mature workers for career-type jobs.

The objectives of this survey would include determining:

1. whether the actual child labor laws and regulations restrict employers in hiring youth;

2. whether misperceptions/misinformation regarding these laws lead employers not to hire youth;

3. if better information on current legislation would encourage employers to hire more youth;

4. if better coordination of federal, state,and local youth employment regulations would be likely to lead to more employment opportunity for youth;

5. whether relaxation/elimination of existing laws and hazardous orders would result in (more) hiring of youth; or

6. whether the laws governing youth employment have little importance when measured against the larger dynamics operative within the reality of the labor market.*

The survey should also address these issues as they relate to the availability of paid/unpaid work experience opportunities and the impact of the various laws and regulations on the employers' willingness to offer opportunities. Additional questions which need answering in this area from employers include:

1. what are the legal restrictions which affect the employer's involvement (or lack thereof) in work experience programs?

2. what other barriers do interested employers face? (e.g. work schedules, insurance, union agreements, additional administrative work et al.)

3. what kinds of work experience arrangements are they involved in? which do they prefer? (e.g. paid vs. unpaid, full - vs. part-time, short-term vs. long-term, school-based vs. employer-initiated)

4. what is their current level of involvment in work experience efforts? would this involvement increase if the legal restrictions were eased?

5. what are the incentives for employers to participate in work experience programs?

Based on the results of this survey, further determination would then be made regarding the need for review and overhaul of the child

* It is recognized that if employers would hire more youth, there is still the serious matter of whether existing restrictions are necessary from the standpoint of youth well-being.

labor laws at the federal level (particularly in view of the implementation of OSHA regulations and better industry safety standards in general) and recommendations for similar review at the state level. The desired outcome of these efforts would be directed toward the standardization and administrative simplification of all the laws, regulations, and restrictions affecting the employment of youth.

Depending on whether the survey results indicated that need and interest existed on the part of employers, alternative employer incentive programs for hiring youth would be developed for futher study. Possible alternatives to be examined might include: unemployment insurance rate adjustments; waiver of costs of workmen's compensation for employer; public subsidies to offset costs of work experience; and a differential wage rate for youth. This last alternative, which relates to the effect of minimum wage legislation on the demand for youth employment, represents a highly charged issue. Numerous studies have yielded as many conflicting findings, pointing to the need for an impartial attempt to determine, if possible, whether or not the minimum wage (and increases thereof) tends to increase unemployment among youth. If, in fact, the results of such a study concluded that the minimum wage is a significant factor in youth unemployment, the research effort would then need to be directed at developing politically, economically, and socially feasible alternative strategies for overcoming its negative impact on youth. With regard to youth wage differentials and minimum wages, previous studies present conflicting findings with respect to how many more youth would be hired at different

wage levels. In its 1969 study, Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages, the Bureau of Labor Statistics concluded that the "minimum wage was not considered a relevant factor by anyone interviewed...Employers in all areas report that they would not expect any teenage applicants if they offered starting wages less than the minimum wage." The study went on to state that "Without exception, factors other than minimum wage legislation were cited as of significantly greater importance in the inhibition of youth employment."

NMI's 1975 study supported these findings but noted that, regrettably for research, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 had a double effect. "Firms in interstate commerce were limited (under FLSA) not only by child labor provisions but, simultaneously, by a minimum wage floor...These were rational developments at a time of high unemployment and rising unionization but...were profoundly merged in impact" (Delaney et al., 1975).

According to an Employment Standards Administration review of recent studies, statistically significant findings indicated that an increase in the minimum wage, other factors being equal, reduces teenage employment. However, the studies cited contained enough ambiguities to cast some doubt on their findings (CBO, 1976). What has not been adequately explored since the 1969 BLS study is the question of whether or not employer hiring agents would in fact hire more youth at lower wage scales, how low these rates would have to be, and how such rates would affect hiring of older workers. It is necessary to obtain candid answers to these questions from employers

prior to the examination of a differential wage rate alternative. These questions should be put to the same cross-section of employer hiring agents recommended for the survey relating to child labor laws and youth employment. By assuring confidentiality in all the proposed surveys, it is hoped that the response to the questions would be open and frank, thereby serving as a reliable base on which to establish proper alternatives.

The Nature of Teenage Work

Despite the many exceptions, it is still useful to recognize that most teenagers work in jobs which they will not remain in as they become adults. The rapid growth in teenage employment has been in the service industries which have found a capability for existence and growth in the enlarged availability of a teenage labor force. This growth has been concentrated heavily in services of one kind or another, particularly fast food chains and retail trade.

While there is much rhetoric about whether some jobs are "dead end," the conversations which begin with this issue add more heat than light. We know that youth move around in employment and almost invariably end up in jobs in their twenties different from the jobs they held in their teens. But we know very little qualitatively about the nature of that employment.

As it becomes more generally true that 2/3 to 3/4 of the larger

employer establishments, having adult workers, do not commence hiring youth until they reach age 20 or 21; as service industries come to rely increasingly on teenage labor; and as we come to think of the teen period of life as a developmental period (whether youth are being schooled in the classroom or in experience settings), we need to move beyond stereotyped views of jobs to knowledge about the nature of teenage employment. These are the experiences that produce adults, and adult workers, as much as formal schooling.

In-depth studies are proposed here of those teenage job settings that contain the preponderance of teenagers in order to find out what kind of job experience they have, and what it means to them.

This is a situation where we know so little for sure about a large portion of the teen development period that we cannot forecast where the knowledge might lead or whether becoming informed will result in anyone doing anything differently. While individual researchers can best devise their own approaches, some illustrative examples may aid in communication:

1. What range of skills is required (and therefore acquired) in various teenage job settings?

2. What are the principal motivations of teenagers in taking these jobs?

3. What difference does having jobs make with regard to:

   -- youth's perception of what it's like to work;

   -- youth's perception of what employers want them to be like; and

-- youth's perception of what employee behavior should be.

Out of some careful study might come the conclusion that, with a little bit of effort, these jobs could be made better learning experiences than they presently are, by using the work setting to enlarge the range of exposures youth have or by teaching them what and how to learn from their experiences. In any event, such studies would start to break down the uninformed stereotypes youth hold regarding the nature of work.

Central City Youth Unemployment

The highest priority must continue to be assigned to understanding as much as possible about the nature of central city and minority youth unemployment and to discovering what will improve the situation. Many of the proposals made in this volume, and in other volumes of this report, relate directly or indirectly to these matters, whether or not they are wholly identified with inner city youth. There are, however, two further knowledge gaps that are identified here: the need to know how much existing program approaches could accomplish if they were applied in sufficient volume and the inter-relationships which are developing between income transfer approaches and employment incentives.

BENCHMARKS FOR CENTRAL CITY YOUTH EMPLOYMENT EFFORTS

The search for new approaches to raising youth employment levels continues, as measured unemployment rates for teenagers continue their decade-by-decade advance. No one really knows, however, how much of the job could be done with the "right" quantity of the best approaches available now, for existing approaches are scattered among the large cities, and few are funded at levels equal to the problems which the programs are designed to address.

What is needed is a cooperative venture between the research office and operations to concentrate existing efforts on a large enough scale in one place to find out how much of the problem is resolved.

More specifically, the procedure would focus all of the best programs that are now available in several cities, on a large scale. Some of these programs might include:

-- in-school job entitlements under YEDPA
-- soft public works projects under YEDPA
-- public service employment
-- OJT with private employers
-- good placement and counseling services
-- Experienced-Based Career Education
-- in-community residence-based Job Corps
-- large scale training under OIC

The research effort would be to identify the changes that occur in the city with respect to measured teenage employment levels, labor force participation rates, school dropout rates, and crime. The

researchers would make their observations periodically to try to identify whether some level of effort and result is necessary to create a situation where one element reinforces another, and deterioration is reversed.

After a reasonable period of research, we would be able to distinguish between the need for new approaches and the need for scale and complementary effort, where existing effort is scattered.

UNRAVELING INCOME SUPPORT AND EMPLOYMENT INCENTIVES

It would be very convenient if the understanding of astronomically high teenage unemployment rates in the central city could result solely from analysis of numbers of job seekers and numbers of jobs. Unfortunately, the rest of life in poverty neighborhoods intrudes on such simple relationships. A large part of the income system which young people learn and negotiate is a combined income maintenance/training allowance system. This is such a large element of reality in poverty areas that it cannot help but become intertwined with the wage portion of the income system.

Research has been conducted on the question of the work incentive effects of welfare payments and, to a lesser extent, unemployment insurance payments, but this issue has been examined largely from the standpoint of adults. There has also been speculation about the effect that the administration of the work test in welfare and food stamps (a relatively new development) has on reported unemployment.

Both of these are sensitive research matters. However, the documentation of real, immediate, and severe job shortages for teenagers is complete enough that any research of this nature ought not to be viewed as an attempt to explain away the problem in job quantity terms - that is simply not possible.

The need for better understanding can be developed along the following lines:

-- In welfare/food stamp households, what influences are at work when the head of the household is asked about teenagers living there? Is there a tendency to report that all teenagers are looking for work because that is thought to be the desired answer? Is there a tendency to underreport employment?

-- For welfare/food stamp families headed by young persons (under 21), whose numbers have been rising each decade, what are the financial incentives to take available employment, and to what extent do present disincentives contribute to the decade-by-decade rise in central city youth unemployment?

-- What perceptions are young people reared in welfare households developing about the employment world?

The primary point is that the relationship between welfare and work has largely been studied as an adult matter and needs to be attended to more carefully in relation to the youth work situation in a total research program on youth employment problems. But any such research should be understood as an attempt to gain understanding that will help in constructive action, not as an attempt to suggest that the problem is less than indicated by current measures.

Job Performance and Credentialing

Debate continues over whether teenagers make reliable employees and whether they are learning enough in school to be able to absorb what employers have to teach them. Large employers who primarily employ adults are tending to exclude teenagers, based on assumptions as to their employment abilities. Research by Doeringer and Piore suggests that most hiring criteria applied to entry jobs are not based on any formal comparisons of performance.

We are aware of only one study in which youth performance on the job is compared with adult performance, the one conducted by Daniel Diamond and Hrach Bedrosian in 1970. The conclusion of that limited study was that little difference existed between youth and adult performance. That single small study, of course, is an inadequate basis for any conclusions.

Job performance studies have been important in establishing the relative performance of older workers, and a series of such studies was conducted by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in the 1950s (although few have been made since then). Thus, there is a base of experience upon which to build.

New studies would move current debate and disagreement from speculation and unfounded belief to the examination of hard evidence. While the knowledge so obtained has direct use in judging hiring policies, it would also be a start toward identifying the correlates of successful and unsuccessful youth job performance. We could start

finding out how youth perform in particular jobs depending on their level of education, and whether there is a development curve in performance related to age (separated from experience). This could lead to a more factual basis for discussion about such matters as minimum wage differentials and subsidies to employers for hiring youth.

Currently, many of our beliefs and biases about who can perform and/or who can be taught to perform are not scientifically valid. Some of these beliefs have especially detrimental effects on youth who must compete for jobs with those who are older, better educated, or more experienced. None of these three characteristics (i.e., age, education, and experience) are necessarily related to competence, but without other indicators of knowledge, skills, abilities, and other characteristics associated with competence, they tend to serve as the only proxies available. Now our attention is being drawn to question the validity of long-held beliefs regarding the competence of young people. Unfortunately, there are few valid measures for predicting competence (e.g., that are related to job requirements), and there are too few reliable and valid techniques for assessing job performance.

Much research and development needs to be done to fill this gap in our understanding. We need more conceptual rigor as well as more systematic and comprehensive strategies for identifying, operationally defining, and measuring competencies, and verifying these definitions and measures for a variety of occupations. Until better ways of conceptualizing job skills and new measures of performance, which are valid and meaningfully capture the complexity of competence,

have been developed, credential and test score requirements for job entry will continue to discriminate against potentially competent workers.

INAPPROPRIATE JOB ANALYSES

A major research concern should be about the methods used to analyze jobs in order to prepare people for them. Typically, job analyses focus on tasks and behaviors. While it is important to know what has to be done in order to be productive, a major element of work is consistently lacking in these analyses. It is the characteristics of job performers who carry out these tasks competently that account for success on the job.

Too little is known about the "causal variables" that enable people with requisite skills to perform them competently. It is not enough, in other words, for training programs to teach behaviors required to perform tasks. They must address variables that cause the proper use of skills. These variables should be better understood and included in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of vocational education programs.

New methods of analysis, such as the Job Competence Analysis developed by David McClelland of Harvard University, are showing promise for leading to better understanding of what really constitutes the ability to be productive. These techniques have not had widespread use, especially with respect to vocational education.

New methods of analyzing the environmental variables that mediate

job and worker interactions need to be brought to bear on vocational training programs. These contextual variables, when integrated into job training programs in industry, have proven to be very effective at increasing job-worker matches.

Not enough has been done in vocational training research to adopt these job analysis tools to help design better vocational education programs. Research projects utilizing new job analysis technologies and findings should be a high research priority.

TEACHING OF CAUSAL VARIABLES

Many federal and state dollars have been spent on research to discover what should be taught. Curriculum and instruction have been focused on variables that these research findings have shown to be empirically associated with competent job performances. Too often, however, it is some variable or set of variables not investigated that accounts for significant correlations between the variables which guide training and job performances. Thus, for example, we teach work behavioral skills which correlate with job performance, when variables such as willingness to learn account for the presence of both the skills and the job outcomes.

We know too little about these causes of success in both the training and work settings. Or what we know about these factors is not being applied to new programs. One reason for the lack of attention to these important causal factors is the lack of confidence by trainers, whether in education, the community, or industry, in their

ability either to teach or assess the learning of these characteristics. Yet, leaders in industry and some sectors of higher education are beginning to realize their importance and the necessity to develop teaching and assessment strategies directed at these variables. More research is needed, however, before these causal variables can be defined, taught, and assessed on a widespread basis.

New operational definitions and measures of such factors as motivation, willingness and ability to learn, problem solving, judgments,and even self-concept are being developed which show promise for adding to our understanding of what constitutes competence and how it can be taught. More research into the causes of good performance, not merely what correlates with it, using new concepts and measures that serve program developers and evaluators, should be the focus of research in this area.

CREDENTIALS

Credential requirements are often set by employers according to their estimates of the educational attainment of people in the applicant pool. There are regional as well as seasonal changes in credential requirements that follow closely a supply and demand relationship.

Employers rarely conduct statistical validations of their educational requirements, and where they have, credential requirements are rarely shown to be valid. White (1976) comments on the problem of employers raising their educational requirements as students increase their educational attainment as follows:

> The solution is not for the government to give everyone more education; this only will accelerate the escalator. The solution is that employers must state their hiring standards in terms that specifically relate to the actual requirements of the job. If the job requirements go up, the hiring standards may go up. The mere fact that more of today's students can meet yesterday's hiring standards should not justify raising those standards, especially when the last to meet those standards are the disadvantaged groups of society... Individuals should have the opportunity to demonstrate employability without relying on evidence of investments in:...formal schooling, and employers should establish job-related qualifications(White, 1976).*

The need for better job analysis techniques would not be so great, if our lack of understanding about what is really needed to perform work competently were not embedded in folklore and if these traditional beliefs were not so restrictive. Furthermore, when states use their powers to strengthen monopolistic practices of occupations, by requiring unnecessary credentials based on folk wisdom, the problem of job access for youth is legitimized unjustly. Research into the validity and meaning of education requirements is, therefore, very much needed.

TESTS

The importance of relating test scores to job requirements has been understood by test developers, researchers, employers, and the public since the Supreme Court ruled in the case of Griggs v. Duke Power Co. in 1971. The discriminatory impact of testing has been focused on the problems of minorities, but the validating measures of competence should have a positive outcome for anyone who is

* Underline added.

competent to work.

Tests are especially misused in the employment and occupational licensing arenas. Often the testing methods used by employers and occupational examination boards are outdated and/or inappropriate. The tests themselves are often invalid. (See Pottinger, 1977.) The most serious error in test construction and use is the failure to base tests and interpret scores on any type of systematic job analysis. Furthermore, there is a need for better understanding of the limitations of tests for making hiring and/or licensing decisions even when such tests are properly constructed.

When proper job analyses are performed, and tests are based on these findings (and validated), testing, as a means of identifying who is competent to work, will become a more viable means of regulation. Many youth, who are in fact competent, will be able to demonstrate their abilities without undue and arbitrary restraints.

In education and work settings, numerous changes in assessment procedures have occurred in the past 10 years as a result of demands for accountability from legislators, the courts, and the public. These changes are reflected in the shift from assessing what people know to what they can do. So-called competency-based testing research and development might provide policy makers with useful tools for making selection and training decisions more valid and fair.

* * *

In summary, then, research is needed to develop better concepts of competence and better definitions and measures for prediction and performance evaluations. New techniques for analyzing jobs, and expecially job performers, must be a vital part of this research. With better analytical tools, concepts, and measurement instruments, the meaning of current indicators of competence, such as age, education, and experience,can be evaluated with empirical rigor. The result could be not only new ways of conceptualizing and measuring competence but, more importantly, more fair and equitable job entry criteria, more productive training and selection activities, and a redistribution of jobs to include more youth without lowering standards of excellence.

Work Experience and the Transition to Work

Much attention is being focused today on the need to provide youth with some form of work experience prior to full-time labor market entry. Work experience is increasingly being viewed as a means to:

- keep youth in school, particularly those in financial need (a concept being tested under YEDPA);
- provide youth with a variety of career exploration opportunities important to effective career decision-making;
- add another set of credentials and contacts, in addition to those of the schools;
- provide the actual experience necessary for acquiring a full-time job; and

- enable students to develop the skills and abilities useful in identifying, obtaining, and performing a job.

Despite the assumption that work experience contains great potential for contributing to youth's successful transition from school to work, there are only limited data available regarding the value of such experience during schooling in later adaptation to the work environment. Even the studies which have included measures of youth work experience have not always reported on or analyzed such data. The Project Talent longitudinal study, for example, did not attempt to develop or test hypotheses relating early work experience to occupational choice, preparation, or success. Nor were any qualitative data on work experience reported in the Youth in Transition studies, which evaluated work experience only in terms of whether the survey participants held jobs at three points in time during high school. In fact, one of the recommendations made, based on the Youth in Transition data, was:

> We think it is important that future research explore the concept further and try to establish the extent to which part-time work during high school actually helps youth make the transition more successfully to full-time work (Johnston and Bachman, 1973).

Unlike the Bachman studies, analyses based on the Parnes National Longitudinal Surveys treat schooling and work as mutually exclusive activities. Labor market experience is defined in terms of full-time work after termination of formal schooling. None of the studies based on the Parnes data address the effect of work experience during school on later labor market experience.

Results from the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972 provide limited data on the effects of work experience during schooling on post-high school labor market experience. A recent study discusses these data within the context of determining what factors influenced the demand for post-secondary education and investigating the transition to work for those students who did not continue their schooling after high school. This study does not focus, however, on the specific relationship between work experience in high school and later adaptation to the labor market (Nolfi, 1977). The Class of 1972 Study, like the other surveys noted above, does not provide adequate data or detail on specific areas relating to work experience which need to be researched, if we are to determine the value of work experience, in its many forms, to an effective transition to work. Some of these areas in which we lack information include:

- Present status of work experience - we need to know more about existing patterns of work experience. What population groups are engaged in what kinds of work experience? How do various target groups view its benefits and costs? How do the perceptions of work experience differ among youth, employers, employees, unions, parents, educators, government officials, and researchers? What are the theoretical models underlying existing efforts (e.g. social learning theory or development theory)?
- Objectives of work experience - more data are needed to determine the expectations and goals of the various parties

involved. For example, do students view it primarily as a source of income or as a source of credit toward certification? Do employers view it as a source of (relatively) inexpensive or free labor? How are process and outcome criteria measured? Is the work experience related to the student's schooling?

- Elements of work experience that contribute to achievement of objectives - the alternative dimensions that are related to the effectiveness of work experience should be examined. These elements include settings - density and quality of role models, communication patterns, etc.; activities - self-regulation, responsibility, adaptation to individual differences, sequencing, level of participation in decision-making, substance of experience, etc.; and consequences - type of feedback, magnitude, expectations, scheduling, contingencies, etc. Research should also focus on the effects of interaction among such treatment combinations with different person variables.
- Costs of work experience - studies might examine the costs of organization design and redesign, supervisory costs, stigmatization costs (in cases of categorical programs which attract special priority groups), research, development, and evaluation costs, operating budgets, etc. Related to the issue of cost is that of existing barriers - legal, personnel, and financial, among others.

- Effects of work experience - what impact does work experience have on participants' academic achievement, dropping out, self-esteem, work attitudes, and subsequent labor market experience in terms of placement, employment, earnings, and job satisfaction, as compared to non-participants? Does the quality of the work experience influence these outcomes? What are the effects for employers in terms of productivity, recruitment, and involvement with schools? Is there a problem with youth saturation of the local labor market or with actual displacement of adult workers?
- Limits of work experience effects - what are the trade-offs with alternative means of spending resources, such as income transfers, vouchers, grants to institutions, and tax breaks? What are the trade-offs with other intervention strategies, including job creation, corporate training, proprietary programs, school-based productive enterprises, and exploratory career education programs?

Above all, research should be focused on learning more about the different kinds of work experience, their quality, and their impact on the transition to work. Until substantive studies have been conducted in these areas, we will not be able to determine the real impact of work experience during schooling on later adaptation to the labor market.

Labor Market Information and Vocational Education Planning

Training for employability has always been an emphatic and successful argument in support of vocational education; high school-to-job placement rates have been the most widely used and accepted measure of success. Vocational educators share with manpower planners the priority of economic efficiency, although they sometimes differ on strategies of achieving it. But to this priority they may add other, sometimes conflicting, priorities, determined by student and parent preferences, community values, school system inertia, and the competing educational priorities of their colleagues. Some of these competing educational priorities include preparation for self-fulfillment, awareness of world cultures, ability to analyze and synthesize information, and ability to read and write at levels which may be more sophisticated than those required for employment in a current or projected labor market. Thus, there are limits to the application of criteria of labor market efficiency.

Also, curriculum planners are concerned about costs of vocational training. Can and should those costs be borne by the taxpayer or student through school tuition or are those costs more appropriately borne by employers themselves? The skills required for occupational opportunities in even a single community are so varied that the decisions of vocational education curriculum builders inevitably raise questions as to the extent training costs are subsidized for some employers at the cost of other employers. Because schools deal in gross numbers

of students,the overwhelming tendency is to create vocational programs intended to serve the predominant occupational clusters.

Finally, even where manpower planners and vocational educators share goals, priorities, and a critical assessment of costs, there remains a series of pragmatic questions related to the quality of occupational data, the availability and usability of the data, and the translatability of the data into effective, efficient curricula. What kinds of data concerning educational/vocational programs, enrollments, skill levels, employers,and employment options should be collected? Are national, regional,or state data best used for different purposes than local data? Can the quality of national and local data be maintained with roughly similar degrees of confidence? Are the methods of data collection and maintenance different? What are the roles of local school staff, state and national agencies in gathering, interpreting,and using labor market data from these different sources?

Questions such as these both join and separate manpower and educational planners. The complex interface between the values of vocational education institutions and the values of labor market institutions has already been thoroughly analyzed (Rogers, 1973) as well as described in a comprehensive study by Drewes and Katz (1975). That study, sponsored by the National Institute of Education, employed in-depth on-site examinations of labor market data utilization by education and employment and training agencies in ten states. Among the principal findings of the Drewes and Katz study were the following:

- All ten states encourage the local educational agencies to conduct their own assessment of manpower needs.
- The decision to alter ongoing vocational education programs is generally regarded as local prerogative.
- Systematic program monitoring and evaluation appear to be minimal in the majority of states visited.
- Local autonomy prevents many state vocational education agencies from maintaining a leadership role.
- There is a tendency for both state and local vocational education agency staff to distrust published manpower data.
- Local vocational education personnel consider information from advisory committees and locally conducted surveys to be more useful than published manpower data for determining local manpower needs.
- Once a vocational education program is installed, manpower projections play a minor role in future programmatic decisions.
- Program contraction or termination is more likely to result from lack of student interest than a lack of available jobs for program completers.
- Many schools have no formal procedures for collecting placement or follow-up information.
- Local program terminations are seldom initiated by the state vocational education agency.
- Many local vocational education planners are unaware of the existing published manpower data available from employment security, BLS,and other governmental agencies.
- The statistical orientation of most employment security and BLS manpower projections inhibits their use.
- Many local vocational education administrators feel they have neither the time nor technical skills to do an adequate job of reviewing manpower data and incorporating it into their plans.
- Few state employment security agencies are financially able to provide special data compilations in response to specific requests from vocational education program planners.

- State vocational education agencies rarely reimburse state employment security agencies for special services provided them.
- Local employment security offices receive few requests from educators for manpower data.
- Decisions concerning the quality and quantity of vocational education programs are considered by USOE personnel to be state and local concerns; the autonomy of the states is respected.
- Manpower data contained in state plans for vocational education are not verified for accuracy by regional USOE personnel.
- USOE regional personnel do not generally acquire and analyze manpower data for use in state plan review.
- No categorical funds are made available to BLS to prepare special data tabulations for use by vocational educators.
- BLS regional offices have few, if any, formal arrangements for communicating with educators.

The many recommendations of the study emphasized standardization of terminology and procedures and greater cooperative efforts across bureaucratic and jurisdictional boundaries. Making reliable, meaningful educational program and labor market data available at national, state, and local levels was one thrust of the recommendations. Working with and strengthening the skills, interest, and institutional needs at each of those levels was the other side of the same coin. In sum, the study defined a problem, explored its various forms, and proposed a series of steps which taken in sum and in proper sequence would result in a more efficient model of education-economics relationships in the human resources arena. A follow-up of these recommendations

constitutes an important agenda, which heavily involves research agencies and capabilities, but also requires meshing with operations as well.

The research implications for follow-up range from the need for theoretical definitions related to the educational supply function (achieving agreed definitions of programs, learner categories, skill achievement levels, identification of criteria for inclusion of individuals in the eligible workforce for specific occupations) to improved understanding of demographic and institutional factors shaping those definitions.

The design of an institutional structure which can put comprehensive, reliable, and valid labor market data to good use is a much more complex question, for which the Drewes and Katz study marks an effective baseline. The topic is especially problematic because of the great uncertainty and changing funding and power relationships characterizing the local, state, and federal relationships between the education and training establishments.

After his extensive review of vocational education literature and experience, Rogers, for example, concluded:

> This is to argue, then, not for a single model but for multiple models, with considerable research attention given to evaluating as many as possible. We do not know enough at this point, either about organizational change or about how to deal with political obstacles to that change, to say definitively that one strategy always or usually is preferable to another (Rogers, 1973).

Rogers, as have many others, stressed the importance of disaggregating national data on vocational education allocations and programs to

get better and more information on a state and locality basis. He also stressed the persistent lag between changes in the economy and vocational curricula, attributing that lag largely to "isolation of vocational educators from labor market economists and employers." Through mandated occupational advisory committees in some instances, through the demonstration state occupational information systems in other instances, efforts are being undertaken to resolve these issues. But on the whole, Rogers' summary of the literature still holds true: there is "a poor fit between these programs and local (metropolitan area) labor markets." He saw a particularly strong need for qualitative, process studies of innovative programs, focusing particularly on organizational linkages affecting performance.

Throughout the nation, leaders of vocational education have been articulating the need for more programmatic flexibility, closer linkages to trends in the economic sector, and broader preparation of students for occupational change and lifelong learning (NACVE, 1977a and 1977b). With such a strong agenda for change still being conceptualized and advocated, it would be a serious error for any research program to define itself too narrowly, for vocational education is in a state of change. Neither should it base research objectives on what may be outmoded stereotypes of past practices, or be insensitive to the great diversity of vocational education practice.

The research carried out at the local level for use in curriculum planning must go well beyond traditional projections of occupational requirements. This is only part of the story. Often more important

is achieving an understanding of local employer hiring and training practices. An occupation may be growing, but the employers may prefer to do their own training. On the other hand, an occupation may be stable, but since the employers hire those trained by vocational education, there is an important role for the vocational school to play. Thus, the local studies for curriculum planning need to be of industrial hiring and training policies in order to properly interpret the value projections have for curriculum planning.

AN EVALUATION AGENDA

Before launching program experiments with expensive and lengthy research designs, it is essential for us to ensure that we have obtained the maximum knowledge possible from already existing programs, demonstrations, and pilot projects aimed at assisting youth in the transition to work. During the conduct of this project, and particularly in the course of locating reliable evaluations of transition programs, we identified numerous programs, especially at the local level, which were considered effective in addressing some of the employment-related problems of youth. Many of these programs had been subjected to no formal assessment, although some had conducted in-house evaluations of short-term programmatic impacts on participants. Despite the lack of supporting data, these programs have earned a reputation for effectiveness among those people familiar with the transition needs of youth.

What follows is a selective sample of a variety of programs currently in operation in one or more sites. They are presented, in alphabetical order, as examples of efforts which could be examined more closely in order to provide an accurate information base for developing further experimentation in the transition area, with particular interest in private sector initiatives.

Accessing Community Resources to Provide Opportunities for Service-Learning: Livonia, Michigan*

ACTION is a service-learning effort of the Livonia Public Schools in close collaboration with the Work-Education Council of Southeastern Michigan and the communities of Livonia and Westland. It is designed to reduce the isolation of students and their teachers from the community, to increase students' self-awareness, and to assist in the development of a sense of social responsibility.

Students are involved in research, advocacy, or direct services which are a direct outgrowth of their classwork. Participation in these community service experiences is on a voluntary basis with no academic credit attached.

Specific project goals are to provide opportunities for students to participate in a service-learning curriculum, to develop a Service-Learning Handbook of Activities for teachers (arranged by subject area), and to expand the knowledge and insight students hold about their local community and its resources. The project is staffed by a director, two service-learning coordinators and 40 teachers and has 500 participating students with 300 new enrollees expected in the spring of 1978.

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

ALCOR, Inc., Kentucky*

ALCOR (Appalachian Leadership and Community Outreach), a seven-year-old student service learning program operated in association with six small southeastern Kentucky colleges, provides a wide range of outreach activities to the residents of isolated communities in 20 counties of southeastern Kentucky. The program is administered and coordinated by ALCOR, Inc., a private, non-profit corporation established in 1970.

ALCOR's projects operate within several major program components, including community development, health, nutrition, education, human services, recreation, and arts and crafts. ALCOR student workers generally are not "placements" in other agencies' programs. Rather, ALCOR emphasizes developing and operating its own projects, with a strong preference for joint efforts with local agencies in response to identified needs which would otherwise go unmet. Program development and planning are insured by a small professional staff at the organization's central office, ALCOR program directors, faculty from the member colleges, and student workers.

Most of ALCOR's students are community workers assigned to a particular community where they make regular home visits and organize activities in response to community needs. The community workers are supported by student health teams and other students providing services, such as remedial reading, adult education, and activities developed to deal with specific problems or needs.

ALCOR currently operates programs in cooperation with more than 66 local private and public organizations. Project activities emphasize self-help, the development of specific skills and leadership capabilities, and "bridging" people and communities with existing, available social services. During 1976, 310 ALCOR student workers from six colleges reached approximately 20,000 people in close to 70 communities.

* Taken from: Jack Burch, Jr. and James L. Cox, "Appalachian People Helping Each Other," Synergist, winter 1978.

Analysis of Job Skills and Availability of Unemployed Youth: Wheeling, West Virginia*

The Education-Work Council of the Upper Ohio Valley, Wheeling, West Virginia, is currently engaged in the task of analyzing the job skills and availability of area unemployed youth ages 16-22. The primary purpose of the project, formally implemented in May 1977, is to assist in the matching of those job skills, provided through area educational institutions, with available area jobs. Particular attention is being paid to wages, long-term security, and career advancement opportunities. Additionally, the Council is directing special attention toward helping solve the problems of those unemployed youth who have no marketable skills by motivating them to re-enter school for training or by placing them in meaningful on-the-job training programs.

Through the cooperative efforts of the West Virginia Employment Security Office and West Virginia Community College, the Council has analyzed applications of approximately 800 youth. As of November 1977, the Council reported that it had been successful in the placement of 125 youths in meaningful jobs located within its service area or in training programs that will lead to permanent employment.

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* This program description was based on the first and second Quarterly Reports of the Education-Work Council of the Upper Ohio Valley, Wheeling, West Virginia.

Career Awareness Program: Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa.*

The Career Awareness Program for High School Dropouts (CAP) was funded as an experimental career exploration program to determine the effects of a concentrated career counseling program upon the employability of high school dropouts. The program is an attempt to provide dropouts with career counseling and guidance to assist them in locating employment and remaining employed after landing a job.

The goals of CAP are:

1. To involve the dropouts in career exploration activities to assist them in the development of appropriate work skills and work habits.

2. To have the participants learn as much as possible about themselves vocationally through concrete and realistic methods, such as role-playing, video-taping, job-site visitations, and activities of the Career Awareness Laboratory.

3. To provide the dropout a complete educational and vocational assessment to determine potential levels of vocational functioning for each individual.

4. To obtain an accurate educational profile to permit the development of effective and realistic educational-vocational plans for each participant.

5. To provide formal test interpretations to each participant regarding the results of his/her educational and vocational assessments.

6. To provide individual counseling to all participants to assist them: in dealing with personal problems and concerns that may be hindering their growth personally and vocationally; in understanding the purpose and results of the educational and vocational assessment; in making decisions about their future plans with special emphasis upon the immediate future; and by providing support once the participants begin to act upon the decisions and plans made.

* This program description was taken from: Dr. Artis J. Palmo, "An Experimental Career Awareness Program for High School Dropouts," Department of Human Development, School of Education, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa.

7. To provide individual and small group counseling to assist the dropouts in understanding the purposes and goals of the program and in better understanding themselves.

8. To provide individual and small group counseling to assist the dropout in determining his/her vocational plans.

The program attempts to broaden and/or clarify vocational goals for students who have withdrawn from high school prior to graduation. The objective of CAP is to help each participant develop a clearer profile of his/her needs and abilities and to determine an appropriate vocational plan from that profile. Twenty-one youth, ages 17-19, have participated in the program, meeting for 3 hour sessions, five days a week for a period of six weeks. Two sessions a day are conducted for two different groups of dropouts. The four major areas of program concentration are: (1) Career Exploration, (2) Testing, (3) Group and Individual Counseling,and (4) the Career Awareness Laboratory.

CAP participants have been engaged in a variety of program activities including visits to area vocational-technical institutions, simulated job interviews, instruction in resume writing and a Career Awareness Laboratory designed to assist them in the process of career exploration.

All of the youth participating in CAP were placed in jobs. To date, approximately 60% of these placements are still employed or about to begin new jobs.

Career Development, Placement and Follow-Up for Physically Handicapped: Southern Illinois University - Carbondale*

This project provides support services designed to ensure that physically handicapped students at Southern Illinois University-Carbondale are (1) realizing enhanced, equal employment opportunities through job placement services; (2) provided additional career development services; and (3) provided effective job placement follow-up evaluation, assessment, and consultation.

The project is administered by two full-time professionally trained persons -- a career counselor and a placement specialist. In addition, plans include consultants from business, industry, and government. A needs assessment instrument is being developed to be administered to potential participants in the support services. This instrument determines the specific needs for career development, placement, and follow-up services. The sample includes 200 physically handicapped students at the University.

* Taken from: The George Washington University, Social Research Group, OCD Retrieval Program, Washington, D.C., October 10, 1977.

Career Guidance Institute: East Peoria, Illinois*

The Tri-County Industry-Education-Labor Council, in cooperation with the Peoria Metro National Alliance of Businessmen, Heart of Illinois Chapter of the American Society for Training and Development, Illinois State University, and Illinois Central College (ICC), has developed and established a graduate level course designed to give educational personnel (teachers, counselors, and guidance personnel) a fuller understanding of the world of work. The three credit course, or "Career Guidance Institute," provides an introduction to career clusters and jobs available in the Tri-County area. The course combines thirty classroom hours dealing with career education and development theory and practice with thirty field experience hours during which enrollees observe and interview working individuals in the community. Graduate credit is awarded through the cooperation of Illinois State University. Counselors and teachers enrolled in the Career Guidance Institute will be oriented to the capabilities and uses of the computer-assisted career information system being implemented by the Tri-County Council and Illinois Central College.

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

CHANNEL ONE: Gloucester Community Development Corporation, Gloucester, Massachusetts*

The Gloucester Community Development Corporation, Gloucester, Massachusetts, has been awarded a contract from the Prevention Branch of the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) for the active dissemination of drug abuse prevention models. The program, known as CHANNEL ONE, will receive assistance from the Prudential Life Insurance Company of America and will be piloted in ten to twelve local communities in Federal Region I and Northern New York State. The purpose of CHANNEL ONE is to demonstrate that local personnel are capable of being effective agents in the active dissemination and implementation of drug abuse prevention strategies within selected communities, given the opportunity, appropriate training,and support services.

The stated objectives of CHANNEL ONE are to:

- work with a national business organization to develop and implement a program using their resources for the stimulation of community-based prevention programs and to provide a model for other businesses;
- enhance the status of community human development programs;
- expand the support systems for drug prevention programs and concepts;
- increase services and client population;
- foster agency/community partnerships;
- promote prevention dialogue, beliefs, and practices; and
- reduce the discouragement effect.

The generalized model of reference for CHANNEL ONE is the Gloucester Experiment, a research, training, and demonstration program taking place in Gloucester, Massachusetts, which combines community partnership, alternative education, and career education for the development of career-occupational alternatives.

* This program description was taken from "Channel One: Fact Sheet," and "Evaluation: Inside and Outside of the Gloucester Experiment" (a report prepared by R&K Associates, Inc.) of the Gloucester Community Development Corporation, Gloucester, Massachusetts.

The specific objectives of the Experiment are to:

- provide educational alternatives to accomodate individual aptitudes, aspirations, and interests;
- provide youth with employable skills, recognizing that jobs must be created as well;
- provide for the creation of new jobs based on the revival of historical trades and crafts;
- provide a vehicle for meaningful interaction among work and education, community and youth;
- provide a means for making the arts, the sciences, and the humanities alive and accessible;
- provide the opportunity for youth to perceive and adopt enriched life styles; and
- provide a process for organizing community and youth in a partnership for renewal.

Activities conducted by the Gloucester Experiment include providing youth with work/service experience through the restoration of historic colonial cemeteries, the construction of a Community Educational Resource Center and a mobile information center, and a training program in land management.

In order to facilitate further development of the CHANNEL ONE system, all training materials, workshops, and technical assistance efforts will be evaluated. Project activities will be monitored and reports continually fed back to the project staff. Also included in the program plan is the development of an overall evaluation design.

Community Involvement Programs (CIP): St. Paul, Minnesota*

Community Involvement Programs (CIP) involves Macalester College students in off-campus activities which enable students to explore career interests, develop skills, gain saleable experience, and enhance their personal growth. Originally, students provided volunteer services under the auspices of the Chaplain's Office. As student and faculty interest in credited service/learning experiences increased, the current program evolved.

CIP has four components which provide a developmental series of community involvements as the students' interests become more focused: (1) volunteer placements averaging 4-6 hours per week, which include some course-related field placements; (2) off-campus work-study placements; (3) 1- or 2-course internships; and (4) an interdisciplinary full-time (3- or 4-course) internship program. Academic credit is awarded by the student's faculty sponsor.

CIP staff provides materials and conducts internship management workshops for students on learning contracts; mid-semester and final evaluations; and other skill-building workshops as needed. Faculty development workshops are conducted to increase the faculty's skills in supervising internships.

Approximately one-third of the Macalester College student body participates in CIP each year.

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Community Volunteer Network: Alma, Michigan*

The Mid-Michigan Community Action Council began in May 1974 to develop an organized network of community volunteers to provide firsthand information to students on careers and the working world. The Council's nucleus effort has evolved to include approximately 670 county-wide volunteers and continues to expand.

Volunteer recruitment is based on actual, immediate student need for help in such activities as workshops, career days, and job fairs. Arrangements can also be made for more direct volunteer participation in such activities as classroom speaking, mock job interview programs, and business site hosts for career exploration.

All activities are performed in collaboration with the Gratiot-Isabella Intermediate School District and are available to all six Gratiot school districts. Activities are accessible to local teachers/schools through the Council's DIAL-a-SPEAKER telephone service. This service matches the individual need of the student group to volunteer resources available. Another component of the Community Volunteer Network is In-School Industry, a school curriculum implemented by Network volunteers. Share-a-Work-Day is also a function of the Network, involving business as site hosts for career exploration.

The volunteer resources include the following occupational clusters: agriculture; business and retail; health and medical; transportation and communication; clergy and law; social service, government, and law enforcement; education; and technical and industrial occupations.

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Comprehensive Career Guidance Program: Mesa, Arizona*

Initiated in 1972, Mesa's Comprehensive Career Guidance Program (CCGP) was designed to change the guidance program from an administrative/crisis-oriented organization to a developmental, comprehensive program based on the needs of students. All students in the Mesa School System have access to the program on an elective basis.

A series of eight competency-based training packages describing the process of implementing the program has been developed for practitioners; and K-12 curriculum units based on needs assessment have been developed for students. Approximately 800 classroom hours of didactic career guidance instruction are now available.

CCGP is presently in the process of instituting Career Resource Centers (CRC) at all secondary schools. The CRCs are managed by the guidance department of each school, and each Center is staffed with a full-time career resource technician. In addition, CCGP is instituting a "mini employment office" at each of the Centers to provide paid employment for students through part-time and/or summer work in odd jobs.

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Continental Illinois Bank & Trust Co., Chicago, Illinois*

The Continental Illinois Bank & Trust Co., of Chicago, Illinois, has recently completed an evaluation of its last three year's experience in employing 500 young people ages 16-21, in a half-time split between high school and work. The bank's comparison of permanent part-time employees to two control groups (other employees in the same age categories and other employees in the same salary grades) has shown that work-study employees in relation to full- and part-time hires:

- had higher retention rates;
- were superior in job performance ratings; and
- had better attendance rates.

In addition, for those work-study employees who later transferred to full-time employment at the bank, the costs per hire were somewhat lower than for regular "off-the-street" hires.

Currently, about 9,000 Chicago public school students take part in a variety of cooperative education programs. Continental is the largest employer of students in the Office Occupations category of work-study, employing 140 students this year.

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* This program description was taken from: Committee for Economic Development, Training and Jobs Programs in Action: Case Studies in Private Sector Initiatives for the Hard-to-Employ, New York, N.Y.: Committee for Economic Development, 1978, pp. 112-115.

Cooperative Education for Out-of-School Youth: Texas*

Since 1972, the Texas Vocational-Industrial Education Program, a component of the Texas Education Agency, has operated a cooperative education program designed for out-of-school youth. The stated objectives of the program are:

- to provide recruitment, job placement, and instruction for out-of-school youth needing credit toward high school graduation or high school equivalency; and
- to provide for the general continuation of school opportunities for students 16-21 years of age who are out of regular school.

In order to qualify for program participation, prospective enrollees must be between the ages of 16 and 21 and high school dropouts for at least six months. The program is operated on an open-entry, open-exit basis, and services are provided year-round. The program teaching staff, which is currently comprised of 17 members, is also employed on a 12-month basis.

Upon program enrollment, the out-of-school youth are placed in private sector jobs where they spend a minimum of four hours at work daily, for five days a week. Students have the choice of attending class for two hours a day, Monday through Friday, or for two-and-a half hours, four days a week in the evening. High school credit is awarded for participation in the program on the same basis as credits are given for regular in-school cooperative education programs.

Classroom instruction is divided into two phases: specific occupational training and "as needed" academic instruction that includes mathematics, science, and communications skills. The occupational curriculum is developed jointly by the teacher-coordinator and each student employer.

Since the program's inception, 4,371 students have been enrolled, with 3,514 eventually placed in jobs. Of those students placed, 80.6% are still employed. In addition, 418 dropouts have earned regular high school diplomas, and another 577 have been awarded equivalency certificates. For the calendar year 1977-78, 454 students participated in the program.

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* This description is based on "Texas: Cooperative Education for Out-of-School Youth," in Manpower and Vocational Education Weekly, May 18, 1978, and information obtained from the Texas Education Agency.

Cooperative Placement Program: Washington, D.C.*

The District of Columbia Cooperative Placement Program consists of a network of Job Service Mini-Employment Centers, located in 12 public high schools, to provide employment-related services to in-school and out-of-school youth. Each Center is staffed on a full-time, year-round basis with a manpower development specialist from the D.C. Job Service (part of the District of Columbia Manpower Administration) along with a schbol counselor and other teaching and support staff.

Occupational and labor market information, counseling, job development, and job placement services are provided to secondary school students and other youth within designated geographic areas served by the respective Mini-Employment Centers. Where appropriate, referrals are also made for students requiring supportive services.

The Job Service specialists place currently-enrolled students in part-time and summer jobs, many of which are funded under CETA. Graduates and noncompleters are assisted in finding full-time employment, either in public service jobs or in the private sector. In conjunction with school guidance counselors, the Job Service representatives also conduct seminars to acquaint students with the work world. These programs provide resource people and occupational information to help students gain realistic outlooks on career choices.

In Fiscal Year 1976, the Employment Service registered 40,683 youth filing new and renewed applications and placed 15,859 individuals. Figures in Fiscal Year 1975 were 45,679 and 20,842 respectively.

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Cummins Engine Co.: Columbus, Indiana*

In one of the few programs of its kind in the country, Cummins Engine Co., Columbus, Indiana, is accepting and training in its Long-Term Training Program job applicants who generally have low level reading and math skills. All of the program's trainees are from economically disadvantaged backgrounds and most have poor work habits and minimal survival skills. Over the last seven years, graduates of this program have shown substantial increases in mathematical skills and reading comprehension.

Long-Term Training (LTT) has been in existence since 1970, in the Columbus, Indiana, area where Cummins has its headquarters and five factories employing 6,500 production workers. Cummins is currently considering the prospects of replicating the program in its plants outside Columbus.

Presently, LTT includes two to three programs per year, graduating about 30 persons annually. Last year, when factory employment activity was low, program trainees represented approximately 20 percent of new hires. Over a five year period, over 100 people have graduated from the program. Cummins' overall LTT goal is for the program to represent approximately 10 percent of factory replacement hiring.

The program's regular training cycle is eight weeks, but it can be extended up to sixteen weeks for those who need it. For math and reading, LTT uses some programmed instructions with teaching machines. However, a full-time instructor is always working with the group, and a counselor is available part-time. Subjects taught by LTT instructors include basic reading and mathematics, "survival skills," such as personal finance, co-worker relationships, company expectations, and work habits, and shop skills such as introduction to blue prints and machine shop practices. During the training, LTT trainees receive 70 percent of the base starting wage. Some of the program's graduates have continued their education and earned the GED high school equivalency diploma.

Once LTT trainees move into the shop, they become regular employees in entry-level positions in one of the company's five area factories.

* This program description was taken from: Committee for Economic Development, Training and Jobs Programs in Action: Case Studies in Private Sector Initiatives for the Hard-to-Employ, New York, N.Y.: Committee for Economic Development, 1978, pp. 156-158.

Emergency Home Repair: Portland, Oregon*

Emergency Home Repair is a home rehabilitation training program offered to Portland youth through a combination of CETA Titles I, II, and VI monies and Housing and Community Development Act funds. (The program is being replicated nationally out of YEDPA Community Improvement discretionary funds.)

EHR provides one year of paid training in carpentry and home renovation to Portland's youth. The 128 youth enrolled during the 1976-77 program year included 80 in-school youths, 13 drop-outs and high school graduates and 27 parolees from state juvenile institutions. In-school youth work a total of 20 hours per week during the school year. Half the day is spent in a traditional academic or vocational curriculum; the other half is spent on the construction site. The in-school enrollees operate in two shifts, allowing a maximum of 40 students on the sites at one time. Course credit given for school participation is supplemented by additional credit during the summer months. Out-of-school EHR participants can work a full 40 hour week or variation thereof, depending on need.

In one and one-half years of operation, EHR has been able to provide paid training for youth and home repair services for the elderly, while chaneling youth into unsubsidized employment. One hundred and twenty in-school and out-of-school youth have received on-the-job training in restoration, carpentry and allied construction skills while earning a minimum wage. Emergency repair work totaling $78,060 has been made on 55 homes for the poor, elderly, or handicapped in Portland, to the satisfaction of 98% of the homeowners. Out of 87 terminations in 1976, 62 enrollees had completed the program. Five youth were placed in construction apprenticeship programs, while another 33 found unsubsidized jobs in construction or related trades such as cabinet making. Fourteen youths dropped out of the program and six were non-positive terminations (primarily due to return to correctional institutions).

EHR staff maintain that these benefits must be carefully weighed against the program's cost. They note that the $78,060 commercial value of repairs, plus the saving of $175 processing cost for loans more than offset the $50,000 for building materials. The cost of training 120 disadvantaged youth is $896 per completion, and $1,576 per participant placed in non-subsidized employment. The normal cost of rehabilitating a house is $13,750. Through home recycling, EHR performs the same rehabilitating at a cost of $3,000 with a potential resale value of $8,000.

* This program description is taken from: CETA and Youth: Programs for Cities, National League of Cities and United States Conference of Mayors, Washington, D.C., n.d.

Less measurable, but equally important, is the fact that EHR's efforts preserve the aesthetic beauty of Portland, without relying on the variety of materials needed for new construction.

As EHR has expanded, certain problems have arisen. High dropout rates among minority participants are of particular concern. Since EHR is a valuable mechanism for bringing minorities into the building trades industry, a key activity for the 1977 program year is expansion of outreach, training, and supportive service efforts to ensure their long-term participation. High turnover rates among in-school participants left crew leaders continually retraining new recruits at the expense of providing more sophisticated training to other participants. EHR is taking steps to ensure that all enrollees remain on the project for one year.

General Electric: Educators-in-Industry*

The General Electric Educators-in-Industry Program addresses itself to the current lack of occupational awareness and experience among teachers and counselors by providing a means by which they can experience the world of work in their communities. The program involves the cooperative efforts of those sectors of society that form the bridge between students and the world of work, particularly parents, educators, and various community based organizations and resources.

The program has essentially four components:

- Summer Fellowship Programs

The General Electric Foundation began the funding of summer institutes for counselors at various universities in 1959. The first institute was held at Syracuse University and through the years, programs have been conducted at Boston University, the Universities of Louisville, South Carolina,and Indiana. To date, there are over 2,000 alumni of the Foundation-funded programs. The programs, which are structured and conducted by university faculty, last five or six weeks, provide graduate-level credits and go far beyond the traditional classroom work. In each location, General Electric plants and other industries provide "shadow" sessions, where counselors and teachers are assigned to employees for periods of time to allow them to get a feel for the work. The programs have evolved from being directed primarily to individual guidance counselors from selected schools to programs for teams of five teachers, counselors,and administrators from a school district. The team concept provides greater stimulus for program development when the participants return to their schools. During the summer, each team is encouraged to develop a program tailored to the needs of the team's home school district.

- In-Service Programs for Educators

The Educators-in-Industry programs were pioneered in Louisville, Kentucky, and Lynn,Massachusetts, where General Electric had long-standing relationships with the area's secondary school systems and local universities. Educators-in-Industry programs are conducted during the school year for teams of secondary school teachers, counselors,and school administrators in other General Electric plant communities including Milwaukee, WI; Erie, PA; Portsmouth, VA; Cincinnati, OH; Bloomington, IN;and San Jose, CA.

* This program description was taken from the GE brochure, "Educators-in Industry," Fairfield, CT: Corporate Educational Relations, General Electric Co., (no date of publication given).

The programs, which provide graduate credits, are planned and implemented by local college faculty in cooperation with representatives from local business and industry. The usual format involves a series of 10 to 15 three-hour class sessions and several sessions of from 2 to 7 hours for "shadowing," field work, and workshops.

- Other GE Programs

During the past few years, many GE plants and offices have become involved in a variety of career education activities directed primarily to students. San Jose's In-Step Program offers high school accredited courses, after hours, at GE plant facilities. Philadelphia's Early Bird Program is a one-to-one tutorial program in math and science courses. In Schenectady and Cleveland, GE plants participate in the youth programs of the National Alliance of Businessmen, and many GE plants support Junior Achievement chapters and Exploring Posts.

The most wide-spread career guidance program involving General Electric is the Program to Increase Minority Engineering Graduates (PIMEG). While its focus is more specific than the general career education concept, PIMEG nonetheless addresses important socio-economic needs and opportunities. To date there are over 100 PIMEG programs taking place in 49 General Electric plant communities.

- Career Educational Communications Programs

Expo-Tech, General Electric's exhibit trailer has stimulated PIMEG programs in numerous cities with large minority populations. Oriented to junior high math and science curricula, Expo-Tech provides high-impact motivational experiences for minority students right at their schools. Each student spends 20 minutes with the various participatory exhibits that range from simple machines to electronic devices. Students and teachers are given follow-up booklets to encourage continuing career exploration. Each city visited by Expo-Tech commits to a long-range follow-up program to assure continuing guidance and assistance for those students who want to pursue studies leading to engineering education.

Harbor City Learning Program: Baltimore, Maryland*

The Harbor City Learning Program (HCL) is an alternative educational model program for both in- and out-of-school youth which is jointly administered by the Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources and the Baltimore Public School System.

HCL combines CETA Title I monies with resources from the Baltimore School System to provide a comprehensive educational system on a year-round basis: an alternative curriculum mixed with paid job experiences for school dropouts and part-time work experience and training in the public sector for those in traditional in-school programs.

HCL is designed, however, to have impact on more than the education and training needs of youth. During the second year of the program, discussions with students and teachers revealed significant areas of student need and led to the creation of two additional HCL components: a Parent-Infant Center and a Student Resource Center. The Parent-Infant Center allows parent-students to participate in the program, while their children learn in the center. The Student Resource Center serves as an academic credit clearinghouse and provides personal and career counseling and follow-up services.

HCL has developed a number of links with the private sector and unions - links which contribute significantly to the relevance and strength of the program:

(1) Baltimore's Labor Market Advisory Committees (LMAC) are a key resource for program planners. The LMAC's which are currently established in ten occupational areas allow business, industry, and organized labor to meet with manpower planners, training program administrators, and public school officials to recommend changes in manpower and vocational education programs, and to provide information on current and projected labor market needs.

(2) Baltimore has a centralized marketing function, located in each Service Center and at the central administrative offices. Job developers attached to that marketing function are able to coordinate private sector jobs and information within the system.

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* This program description was taken from: CETA and Youth: Programs for Cities, National League of Cities and United States Conference of Mayors, Washington, D.C. n.d.

(3) The SRC, which provides counseling, placement, and follow-up services for students, has developed its own links with the private sector.

(4) Formal contracts negotiated on a seasonal basis for the traditional curriculum OJT slots stipulate that those students have priority for job openings.

During the present program year, a major component has been added to further encourage private sector involvement. Experience-Based Career Education (EBCE) is a voluntary, tuition-free alternative program of full-time learning and on-the-job career exploration leading to a high school diploma. This national program model, which places students in private sector jobs, will be modified by HCL. To meet CETA regulations, it will allow students to earn academic credit for learning at sites in the health care delivery system. An after-care program has also been incorporated into HCL for the current year. Under this program, 75 HCL slots are funded through LEAA for youth diverted from correctional institutions.

Hire-A-Neighborhood-Youth: St. Louis, Missouri*

Hire-A-Neighborhood-Youth is a local, part-time placement initiative sponsored by the YMCA of Greater St. Louis. This program is for young people (ages 13-18) who rarely have access to transportation, who have been unable to get a part-time job due to their age, or who lack skills or experience needed for jobs in the commercial fields. In the community of St. Louis County and City, there are many prospective employers for these young people. The largest number of these are homeowners and families who need someone to do odd jobs around the house or yard but cannot afford to pay professionals for these services.

Jobs such as mowing lawns, raking leaves, shoveling snow, housework, babysitting, painting, window-washing, etc. are basically the types in which teenagers are placed, but calls are received for a variety of jobs for after school and weekends during the school year, as well as during the summer. Work is paid for by the employer. Because the teenagers and the jobs are filed according to zip code and school district, the young people are placed in jobs near their own neighborhoods within bike-riding or walking distance.

After a job is filled, the placement is evaluated either through the mail-in evaluation cards distributed to the employers by workers or by phone contacts. Youth who receive good evaluations and who are eager to work receive many referrals and gain a useful reference for future employment.

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* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Job Placement Department: Akron-Summit County, Ohio*

Since 1971, the Job Placement Department of Akron-Summit County has provided job placement services to 19 public schools. Funded under the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 through the Division of Vocational Education, Ohio Department of Education, the services, which are targeted to low income disadvantaged youth, are coordinated through a central office staffed by placement specialists (predominantly non-educators).

The basic functions of the Job Placement Department are to:

- collect and maintain data on eligible youth in Akron and Summit County high schools;
- obtain data on occupational opportunities from business and industry;
- instruct participating youth in pre-employment and job-hunting techniques, as well as the needs and desires of employers;
- screen students, as job openings occur, in order to refer qualified candidates to employers requesting applicants;
- follow-up with employers and students as a tool to measure success and as a source of current information for schools regarding employer needs and trends, and curriculum adaptation; and
- hold in-service meetings to advise educators about job-preparation, job-seeking, and job-holding skills.

Job development efforts are coordinated with other school staff (vocational teachers, cooperative program coordinators, etc.). The placement specialists frequently hold "pre-employment clinics" for vocational students in cooperation with their respective teachers. A centralized data system is utilized for students and employers in order to facilitate efficient referrals and to maximize job development and follow-up efforts.

Job placement specialists also work with school counselors, teachers, and administrators in order to provide students with employment information. Half their time is spent in the business community seeking employment information and developing specific job openings. During the 1976-77 school year, 7,670 student contacts and 3,601 business contacts were made, leading to 3,318 job referrals and 706 actual placements. The cumulative number of job placements under the program from April 1, 1971 to June 30, 1977 totalled 9,163.

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Job Placement Project: West Rutland, Vermont*

Through the cooperative efforts of West Rutland High School and the State Employment Security Office, a program has been implemented which seeks to provide job placements for all interested graduating students. The school's guidance department is responsible for student goal setting, career exploration, and career preparation. Counselors from the local office of Vermont Job Service visit the school monthly to conduct seminars for students in labor market information, training programs, and services available through the Job Service. Students are informed of local job openings and are assisted by the school in seeking their own employment. In addition, the Champlain Valley Work and Training Program, funded by CETA, works primarily with dropouts to provide them with job placement and on-the-job training, with a view toward obtaining specific needed skills.

As a result of this project, a higher percentage of graduates has been employed; students are more aware of the relevance of their courses to employment; teachers are more aware of student needs; the community seems to be taking more of an interest in the school curriculum; and industry attitudes toward employing local high school graduates seem to be improving.

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Jobs for Youth: New York, New York and Boston, Massachusetts*

Jobs for Youth, Inc., (JFY) is a private, non-profit vocational counseling, job placement, and educational service for youth, ages 16 through 21, who have left school. Originally implemented in the City of New York, the JFY model has since been replicated in Boston, and the Corporation for Public/Private Ventures, a Philadelphia-based non-profit organization, has subcontracted with JFY-Boston to replicate the JFY model in Chicago in the coming months.

JFY is designed to assist annually hundreds of youth, with limited or no work experience, in preparing for job interviews, understanding the responsibilities of employment, finding a new job suited to their skills, and succeeding in their real work experiences. The nucleus of the Jobs for Youth model is the interdependency and team approach of its three basic components: Employer Services, Counseling Services, and Educational Services.

The Employer Services Division develops and maintains openings in the private sector by assisting small and middle sized employers in finding and keeping the right person on the job. When an employer notifies JFY of an entry-level or semi-skilled opening, an Employer Services representative identifies exactly what the job entails. JFY counselors then select the applicant whose skills are suitably matched for the position.

An Employer Services representative then conducts a follow-up on the new employee, verifying that the employee is on the job, punctual, and efficient. The representative stays in close contact with the employer, particularly during the first days and weeks of the critical start-up period. Through regularly scheduled telephone calls and one or more site visits, Employer Services continues communication throughout employment to insure that the employer is satisfied with his/her new worker.

The objective of Vocational Counseling Services is to provide short-term evaluative and job readiness counseling to help high school drop-outs prepare for full-time job experiences and find jobs matched to their employment skills. The JFY counseling process is based upon a series of "pre-placement" interviews that a youth has with a counselor prior to employment. During these interviews, a counselor-client relationship is established, and JFY program options are outlined to the client. These options may include counseling to assess and prepare basic job readiness skills, with referral to employers for direct job placement; entrance into Educational Services for concurrent instruction in job readiness skills; and referral to alternative

* This description is based on materials obtained from JFY-Boston and JFY-New York.

educational, counseling, or training programs for youth who require more extensive preparation before employment.

The Educational Services component of JFY defines and provides instruction in work-related and life-coping skills. The primary objective is to move out-of-school youth into the world of work by linking the achievement of functional competencies to obtaining a good, meaningful job. Literacy is defined and taught through specific task-oriented activities such as: computing a sales slip; maintaining a bank account; reading street signs and subway maps; conducting a business telephone call; reading the want ads; and completing job applications, thus offering a direct match between "academic" skills and actual job/life demands.

A subsidiary aim of Educational Services is to assist youth in completing their education and developing career goals. Individual programs are designed to aid youth in entering vocational training programs or adult education classes. The curriculum is designed to meet the entrance requirements of the respective programs. Youth may enter the program at any time and participate until their goals are reached.

Jobs for Youth-New York also sponsors a Summer Work Scholarship Program which provides scholarships for summer jobs for economically disadvantaged in-school youth. Conducted during the summer of 1977, the program ran for eight weeks and employed youth for six hours a day, five days a week. Jobs ranged from clerical positions, to tour guides, to theatre jobs. Corporate contributors to the program included Morgan Guaranty, Pfizer, Mobil Oil, Citibank, and Equitable Life Assurance Company.

JFY is supported through a balance of public and private monies. In New York private support from foundations, corporations, and individuals made up approximately 60 percent of JFY income in 1977. Public funds, which make up the balance of JFY's income, include funds from a contract with the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, an HEW Right to Read grant, and a FIPSE grant.

Initial funding for JFY-Boston was secured through a three-year LEAA grant award by the Massachusetts Committee on Criminal Justice. The program is also supported through a number of private contributors. The Educational Services component of JFY-Boston has been given supplemental support through a two-year grant from FIPSE.

JFY-Boston places annually over 350 youth in full-time jobs. In 1977, JFY-New York successfully placed over 400 youth in full-time employment.

Kodak, Teens on Patrol: Rochester, N.Y.*

The summer of 1977 marked the eleventh two-month season for Teens on Patrol (TOP), a program developed by Eastman Kodak in Rochester, which has given responsible roles to some 1,042 youngsters, in cooperation with the Rochester police force. Youth participating under the program are paid the minimum wage of $2.30 per hour for a five-hour working day to patrol city recreation areas that are popular with other youths, carry out clerical chores at police headquarters, or to regularly accompany police officers in patrol cars on calls for police assistance.

Each summer, Kodak grants about $100,000 to Rochester Jobs, Incorporated, an employment consortium of Rochester business, religious,and community agency leaders, to administer the TOP program. TOP participants are said to have exerted a positive influence on their peers each summer, established a good understanding of the police role, and developed a sense of responsibility and dependability from the TOP work. TOP is an extremely popular program, with approximately 800 youths aged 16 to 19 applying last summer for only about 100 openings.

* This program description was taken from: Committee for Economic Development, Training and Jobs Programs in Action: Case Studies in Private Sector Initiatives for the Hard-to-Employ, New York, N.Y.: Committee for Economic Development, 1978, p. 124.

Local Skill Needs Survey: Erie, Pennsylvania

In early 1972, the Manufacturer's Association of Erie sponsored and conducted a study of regional training resources and their current and projected output. The results of the study reinforced the widely accepted notion that the area would be confronted with a skilled manpower shortage -- the proportion and timing of which, however, were still unknown.

In early 1973 a Vocational Institute Task Force, comprised of representatives from M.A.E. and the City and County vocational-technical school administrations, was established to investigate the feasibility of developing a new regional skills training facility. One of their first tasks was to locate and appraise local-level skill needs surveys existing in other parts of the state and nation. The replies to over 60 such inquiries revealed a paucity of relevant models. An original survey format was then designed, with the completed survey administered for the first time in March, 1974.

The M.A.E. Skill Needs Survey is an annual statistical survey of current and projected (for one, three, and five years) employment for over 120 specific standard industrial classification (SIC) occupations in Erie County manufacturing firms. All manufacturing companies in the County that employ 15 or more persons are classified according to two digit SIC groupings. A list of the SIC occupations present within the County manufacturing sector are distributed to the various SIC groupings. The list is then transformed into a relatively simple questionnaire format and mailed to the personnel officials of all eligible firms. The officials are asked to provide projections, based upon best possible method, of employment needs due to growth, one, three, and five years out. Returns are transferred to data processing cards, tabulated by keysort, and results are extrapolated to depict 100 percent of the employed manufacturing labor force (based upon SESA figures), and multiplied by a statistical factor (provided by SESA) to reflect projected turnover figures (death, retirement, and other labor force separation). Final results are displayed according to SIC occupations and groupings.

The findings of the March 1974 survey substantiated the need for skilled manpower in Erie County and provided very useful insights as to the magnitude and scope of the shortage. After consultation with the Pennsylvania Department of Education and State legislators from the Erie district, the Vocational Institute Task Force incorporated the survey findings into a comprehensive plan and proposal for the creation of a $3 million regional skill training

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

facility. The findings were also utilized by the Operational Advisory Board for the determination of those skill areas that should be emphasized within the Skill Center program offerings. The Center was dedicated in June 1977 and presently can accommodate upwards of 1,000 full- and part-time trainees per year.

The findings of subsequent surveys have been utilized to:

a. Aid curriculum planners at the two area secondary vocational technical schools and the Regional Occupational Skill Center

b. Provide secondary school counselors with current information concerning local labor market trends

c. Assist local C.E.T.A. prime sponsors and advisory councils in their consideration of proposals (particularly Title I)

d. Serve as a model for needs surveys in other industries and/or service areas

Mayor's Summer Program for the Employment of Disadvantaged Youth: Chicago, Illinois*

Formally implemented in the summer of 1969, Chicago's Mayor's Summer Program for the Employment of Disadvantaged Youth (MSEDY) is the largest summer employment program in the country. The program's two formal goals are that the summer employment be productive and that it offer real work experience. Attitude surveys among the recipients suggest that both goals are being met. In addition, the surveys reveal that the summer jobs are providing badly-needed income for school costs, personal living expenses, and even family income.

Chicago's public sector and its private non-profit agencies employ approximately 46,000 youths aged 14 to 21; the city's private sector hires another 39,000 youth from 16 to 21. Approximately 5/8 of these 85,000 summer jobs are filled by minority youth, with an even larger proportion going to youth from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Both the public and private efforts of the program are administered by the Chicago Office of the Mayor. In the private, profit sector, no income test is applied to summer youth applicants. For industry as a whole, over 30 percent of the summer youth hires were minorities, with minorities representing about 40 percent of Chicago's population.

For summer jobs with either city or private agencies, applicants must meet federal poverty guidelines. In the summer of 1975, the Federation of Settlements, a network of 81 neighborhood-based settlements located throughout Chicago's inner city, surveyed all of the 1,600 youths it was employing, receiving 967 responses. These were youth earning $491 for a nine-week period, 26 hours per week, at $2.10 per hour. Youth evaluations of the program have been generally favorable and positive, with most summer participants indicating that the program provided valuable, productive work experiences.

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* This program description was taken from: Committee for Economic Development, Training and Jobs Programs in Action: Case Studies in Private Sector Initiatives for the Hard-to-Employ, New York, N.Y.: CED, 1978, pp. 105-111.

Mini Automobile Dealership, Montgomery County Students Automotive Trades Foundation, Inc: Montgomery County, Maryland*

The Montgomery County Public School System is currently sponsoring a "mini automobile dealership" for area high school students. Implemented in February 1978, the program provides students interested in automotive trade careers with on-the-job instruction and a marketable skill upon high school graduation.

The dealership is primarily operated by students, with the guidance and close supervision of school instructors and volunteers from the local auto dealer community. Students are involved in all phases of dealership activity including business operations, purchasing, reconditioning, and selling used automobiles. All profits received from sales are funneled back into the program.

Program funds and expertise are provided by the Montgomery County Students Automotive Trades Foundation, a local volunteer group comprised of automobile dealers, lawyers, bankers, civic leaders, and educators.

To date, the program has received the complete endorsement of the Maryland Department of Motor Vehicles and the Montgomery County Office of Consumer Affairs.

Approximately 30 students from nine county high schools are currently participating in the program.

* This description is based on "Mini Dealership Sponsored by Montgomery County Students Automotive Trades Foundation, Inc.", in American Motorist, May/June 1978, and information obtained from the Montgomery County Public Schools.

New Avenues: Santa Barbara, California*

In recent years, Open Road/New Jobs has placed over four hundred young people in subsidized apprenticeship-like settings, where they worked with someone they respected while learning and doing something they considered worthwhile. The participants, aged 16-25, came from a wide range of educational, ethnic, and class backgrounds. In this experiential education and training program, young people developed personal perspective, marketable skills, and interest in continuing education. More than half of these young people were placed in higher paying jobs at the end of their subsidized apprenticeship, and another 25% decided to continue with their education.

With the support of the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, Open Road/New Jobs has been able to develop New Avenues, a cost-effective, community-based career education center for out-of-school young people, 16-24, in the same four California counties served by Open Road/New Jobs. New Avenues grew out of the two-year New Jobs experience and the recognition that few counseling and referral resources existed for the out-of-school young person who was not being served by existing manpower or education programs.

New Avenues is designed to: (1) gather information and document the needs of this population, specifically regarding the problems that out-of-school young people face as they attempt to move from school to careers, as well as the institutional blockages that work against the development of more effective youth policies; (2) provide needed direct services to young people, including educational counseling, job placement and special skill development workshops; (3) based upon information gathered, make specific recommendations to institutions for more effective use of existing resources; and (4) establish on-going support committees in each of the four counties.

* Taken from: U.S. HEW Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, Resources for Change: A Guide to Projects 1977-78, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1977.

Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company: Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co., Milwaukee, Wisconsin,has been involved in a number of employment initiatives. For the past 16 years, the company has participated in a high school cooperative education project that allows from 20 to 25 students to work part-time at the company for a half-day and go to school the other half day. Northwestern emphasizes that this employment is created by the need for additional help in its departments and is not "make-work" employment. The company estimates that about 98 percent of these students return to the company for full-time or part-time work.

In recent years Northwestern has tried a number of approaches to training the hard-to-employ. The company had an off-line training program but now maintains that on-the-job training yields better results. Accordingly, close to 10 percent of Northwestern's 350 annual hires (approximately 25 to 35 people) are placed in entry-level jobs as a result of training. Most of the company's qualifiable categories of trainees are designated for minorities with below-average academic backgrounds and insufficient demonstrable skills. Participants in this program are trained for both clerical and semi-professional positions and are aided in further training through a tuition-refund program.

Northwestern is also slowly increasing its use of part-time employees and has extended its benefits to them. Company implementation of variable hours in 1973 has also widened the range of job opportunities, particularly for working mothers. The company has also experimented with the concept of job sharing. These are usually entry-level clerical jobs. Presently, eight full-time positions are shared by two people each.

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* This program description was taken from: Committee for Economic Development, Training and Jobs Programs in Action: Case Studies in Private Sector Initiatives for the Hard-to-Employ, New York, N.Y.: Committee for Economic Development, 1978, pp. 130-131.

Project SPACE: Boston, Massachusetts*

Project SPACE is an alternative occupational education program which has been operated for the past seven years by EdCo, the Education Collaborative for Greater Boston. Project SPACE is geared towards students, sixteen or older, who have not succeeded in regular school programs, but who are motivated to earn a high school diploma through a combination of academic study and employment. Any high school student from the EdCo member school systems who will be sixteen years old when entering the program is eligible to apply. Project SPACE is particularly interested in serving those students whose potential and ability are not being developed by the traditional school setting and curriculum.

There are currently three Project SPACE classrooms. The fifty-one students represent most of the EdCo communities, although a majority of them are from Boston. Project SPACE students are expected to attend class every morning where they receive instruction in basic academic areas. Each afternoon, they are expected to attend their work placement, located at the classroom site or at a site recruited and supervised by Project SPACE. Each company pays the students on an hourly basis for their afternoon work and training, with the rate per hour dependent upon the particular company. Student job placements in certain non-profit agencies are subsidized under CETA. Each student has a work supervisor who is available to deal with any problems the student may have and to whom the student is responsible while on the job. The supervisor provides the student with career skill training in concert with the student's "Master Teacher," who acts as liaison with the work placement.

All students attend Project SPACE full-time, but they remain enrolled in their local high schools, which issue their grade reports and grant their diplomas. Project SPACE is a twelve month program with classes for the usual school year (following the Boston Public Schools' calender) and full-time work during the summer.

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Ralston Purina, Summer Jobs Nationwide: Saint Louis, Missouri*

The Summer Jobs Program, a private sector initiative sponsored by the Ralston Purina Co. for the past seven years, now involves more than 500 inner-city youth -- high school juniors and seniors -- nationwide. Ralston Purina currently restricts the program to inner-city or disadvantaged youths, although participants may be from the suburbs if they are dependents of low-income families, or if they are juvenile offenders. In many cases, the summer job is the youth's first paid work experience.

Student participants are employed by various social agencies and minority businesses for twenty hours each week. The employing organization and Ralston Purina agree on the work to be done. In addition to paying wages, Ralston Purina insures adequate supervision of the various programs by soliciting non-profit organizations nationwide and asking them to develop the summer jobs, particularly among minority businesses.

To date, no other known efforts to replicate the program have been made.

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* This program description was taken from: Committee for Economic Development, Training and Jobs Programs in Action: Case Studies in Private Sector Initiatives for the Hard-to-Employ. New York, N.Y.: Committee for Economic Development, 1978, p. 138.

Schools as Entrepreneurs: Hartford, Connecticut*

In light of a scarcity of entry level openings in the local private sector, the City of Hartford, Connecticut, has come up with an alternative solution to the problem of providing youth with work experience: engaging the schools as entrepreneurs and establishing student-operated for-profit business enterprises. Unlike other school-operated programs which emphasize providing services to social service clients through wage subsidies or "capturing" jobs from the pool of local employment openings, the Hartford program directly involves the schools in establishing small businesses and providing youth with productive jobs and marketable job skills. The program is open to local high school juniors and seniors.

Two student-operated businesses are currently run by the schools: an auto-repair and auto body work center and an energy technology "store" which involves students in the manufacture and installation of inexpensive storm windows. The auto-repair and auto body work center has been operational since the late '60s and currently involves approximately 90 students. Approximately 20 students are now participating in the energy technology "store."

Several other student-operated businesses are now in the organizational stage, including a metals machining venture, an agricultural and horticultural production center, a student-run print shop, and a student-run bank and loan company, and are slated for implementation in the fall.

* This description is based on "Hartford, Connecticut: Schools as Entrepreneurs," in Manpower and Vocational Education Weekly, May 18, 1978, and information obtained from the Hartford Public Schools.

Selby Bindery: St. Paul, Minnesota*

The Selby Bindery, located in the economically distressed area of Selby-Dale of St. Paul, Minnesota, is owned and operated by the Control Data Corporation. The bindery employs 139 part-time workers, with a staff of 9 full-time members and supervisors.

A unique feature of the bindery's workforce is that seventy-five of its employees are women, most of whom are mothers with school-age children, with the remainder of the workers being primarily high school, college,or vocational school students. By working part-time hours during the school months, the mothers can be with their children before and after school, thus reducing day-care problems. The fifty-six part-time student employees work to cover to costs of schooling or to supplement family incomes.

Selby's workforce has remained 90 percent minority since the enterprise began early in 1970, with most of Selby's employees residing in the predominantly black immediate neighborhood or the central city.

There is considerable evidence that the bindery is efficient. The Selby plant assembles tens of thousands of computer manuals and distributes them to Control Data customers globally. The plant also handles other corporate mailings such as shareholder reports and employee publications. Total business volume is approximately $500,000 per year and profits from 1976 exceeded $20,000.

In its seven years of existence, Selby has trained about 150 employees who have been placed in higher paying and higher skilled full-time jobs. Of these 150 placements, 24 were transferred to full-time Control Data jobs; the rest of the placements were with outside employers.

* This program description was taken from: Committee for Economic Development, Training and Jobs Programs in Action: Case Studies in Private Sector Initiatives for the Hard-to-Employ, New York, N.Y.: Committee for Economic Development, 1978, pp. 145-149.

Service Learning Resource Center: Lexington, Kentucky*

The Service Learning Resource Center (SLRC) is an ACTION funded project at the University of Kentucky, devoted to the development of quality service-learning programs throughout Federal Region IV (Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee). SLRC is designed to enhance the quality and quantity of service-learning programs in the region through a variety of organized services and activities.

Through its workshops, conferences, consulting services, a newsletter, and the resources of the University of Kentucky's Office for Experiential Education, SLRC assists individuals, secondary and postsecondary educational institutions, community agencies, and government in developing new service-learning programs as well as improving existing opportunities. Major services and activities of the SLRC currently include:

- workshops throughout the region addressing the unique needs of Region IV states and the special problems confronting secondary and postsecondary educational institutions, community agencies, and governmental programs;
- regional conferences focusing on the larger issues related to service-learning, such as youth service, transition from school to work, and assessment;
- on-site consultative services designed to recognize the unique needs and resources of those requesting them;
- provision of resource information on service-learning efforts in the region, model programs elsewhere, national and regional publications, and various books addressing theoretical issues and technical problems in developing service-learning programs; and
- computerized information network which provides participants in SLRC activities with newsletters and information on the efforts and resources of national and regional organizations.

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Shadow Program: Buffalo, New York*

The Shadow Program was established by the Niagara Frontier Industry Education Council Inc. (NFIEC) in response to a request from the Superintendent of BOCES for more active participation in preparing high school students for the work world. The program provides an opportunity for vocationally trained high school students to participate in a one week on-site "shadowing" of the daily activities of a practitioner in a particular career. This experience aids students in developing an understanding of the world of work and offers them a chance to see how their vocational training relates to the actual working experience.

Students from vocational education programs of both the Erie County BOCES and the Buffalo Public Schools are selected to participate in the program. Program administration and support services are provided by the NFIEC. Students are not paid for their participation in the program since it is part of their academic curriculum. They are insured under the school's liability insurance policy. Placement of 75 students through the Shadow Program is the goal for the current school year. This represents a considerable expansion from last year's pilot program, involving eight students, and is possible because of the assistance of an MBA student intern from the University of Buffalo (SUNY at Buffalo).

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Student Career Interest Survey: Wheeling, West Virginia*

For the past six years, the Explorer Post Division of the Boy Scouts, Wheeling, West Virginia, has conducted an annual survey of high school students for the purpose of identifying their career interests. The survey data are used to help place some 200 area students annually in exploring careers during their last three years of high school so that they may obtain a better understanding of the world of work. Career interests are divided into occupational "clusters" which include: business, communications, engineering, medical research and science, professional and public service, and technical services.

In 1977, 6,390 students participated in the career survey. The Education-Work Council of the Upper Ohio Valley is cooperating with the Boy Scouts in seeking organizational sponsors willing to accomodate the various career interests. The Council also plans to use the survey information for the recruitment of persons for a proposed community resource career bank.

* This program description was based upon information taken from the first and second Quarterly Reports and The Program of Work of the Education-Work Council of the Upper Ohio Valley.

Students Incorporated: Las Cruces, New Mexico*

Students Incorporated (SI), a non-profit initiative currently funded through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, was originally established in May 1970, as referral service through which residents and businesses of Las Cruces with odd jobs or small tasks to complete could find a youth to hire. Through continued community support and development, the organization has expanded its program objectives to include: 1) providing job and service opportunities for youth; 2) providing orientation and in-service training that will equip young people with increasingly marketable skills; 3) offering young people the opportunity to gain experience in business and management, acquire work records, contribute to their community and their own future; 4) promoting and creating needed services not existent in the community; and 5) administering services developed by the organization and promoting their services.

The basic program design is intended to break the cycle of "I can't get a job if I don't have experience, but how can I get experience if I can't get a job?" The program addresses itself to youth ages 14 to 21 and does not require that applicants meet any financial guidelines as a prerequisite to qualifying, receiving services, or receiving a job; the only requirement is that the youth wants and is willing to work.

Another unique feature of SI is that the youth employed through the program are fully insured. The program carries its own workman's compensation and general liability insurance for the youth placed by the program. The youth are assessed 15% of their earnings to cover insurance and administrative costs. This assessment is the only deduction from the youth's payroll, as they are exempt from state and federal taxes.

In the seven year history of SI, the program has grown from a Neighborhood Youth Corps employer attempting to find jobs and referring youth to odd jobs to five full-time professional staff members providing counseling, job preparation seminars, job development,and job placement. More than 4,000 local youth have benefited directly from job orientation programs, career and vocational counseling, job development, job placement,and work experience since the start of the program. Young people working through SI have earned in excess of $750,000 collectively.

* This program description was taken from Students Inc. materials.

Another promising facet of SI has been its strong emphasis upon job training and job orientation activities. A course designed to acquaint young people, expecially high school seniors, with methods of preparing for the world of work has been developed and assimilated into the area high schools' programs on career education.

More recently, SI has taken steps to add a testing system to the vocational and career guidance concept. Using testing information and materials from Science Research Associates, Inc. (SRA) in Chicago, Illinois, the program is now able to assist youth without employment goals to narrow their career possibilities based on interest, ability, and capability.

The work experience component of the program, by far the largest, differs from most work experience programs in that the employers, rather than federal or state funded programs, pay the youth. Program emphasis is upon employment in the private business sector rather than the public employment sector.

Summer Work for Counselors Project: Charleston, S.C.*

The Summer Work for Counselors Project of the Charleston, S.C., Trident Work-Education Council was implemented in June 1977 and had as its primary purpose to assist counselors in obtaining a more accurate view of occupations in Charleston industry, so that they could share this information with youth during the school year. This program activity of the council was founded upon the premise that guidance counselors are a key to helping local youth obtain accurate and realistic occupational information prior to high school graduation.

The eight week employment project, initiated at the beginning of the summer, selected counselors from tri-county high schools and placed them in work situations at the Robert Bosch Corporation, a local manufacturer of fuel injection pumps for diesel engines. Counselors worked in nineteen different departments in the plant, including the assembly line, and had frequent meetings with the plant director and personnel administrator.

The program, the first of its kind in the area, was qualitatively evaluated by participating counselors as a valuable and enlightening experience. Current Council plans include the program's expansion in the summer of 1978.

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Vocational Foundation, Inc.*

Vocational Foundation, Inc. (VFI), established in 1936 as a job placement service for those out of work due to the Depression, is a New York City based employment agency which currently aids in facilitating the placement of the city's hardest-to-employ youth (ages 16-19) in entry-level jobs. Most of VFI's clients are troubled youth - minority high school dropouts from delinquent or pre-delinquent backgrounds - and many of them have known correctional or drug histories. A considerable number of VFI's clients have had no previous work experience and have had little job market preparation. In many cases, youth are referred to VFI as a last resort for help in finding suitable job placements with city agencies.

Despite these difficult factors, VFI succeeds in placing youth in productive jobs with some of the city's largest employers. In fiscal year 1976, VFI dealt with 2,400 youth, conducted almost 6,000 interviews, developed 3,700 job openings, made 2,500 job referrals, and placed almost 1,100 youths in jobs. Last year the agency placed about 1,205 youth; among those employers offering jobs to its clientele were Citibank, Merrill-Lynch, Baskin Robbins, Chock Full o'Nuts, and Bantam Books.

* This program description was taken from: Committee for Economic Development, Training and Jobs Programs in Action: Case Studies in Private Sector Initiatives for the Hard-to-Employ, New York, N.Y.: Committee for Economic Development, 1978, pp. 195-199.

Vocational Information Program: Joliet, Illinois*

In Joliet, Illinois, some 20,000 students and adults are using a computerized career information system that was developed by Joliet Junior College. The system is self-sustaining and operates within the framework of a non-profit consortium of local users. User fees are $1.00 per user for a school year, with the user (student) being given unlimited access to the system. Information is obtained by surveying local employers on (1) the types of jobs maintained in their companies and (2) specific information about those jobs. The Joliet system uses a small computer to store, maintain, and retrieve this information for students, counselors, educational offices, and other special interest groups.

Twenty junior high schools, ten senior high schools, three prisons, and various community service organizations plus Joliet Junior College students access the system as a consortium of users. In operation since September 1976, the system has provided some 80,000 information reports to students during its first year of operation. The program is being adopted in nearby areas, and it is estimated that some 100,000 students will have used the system by 1978.

There are currently nine modules which may be obtained and operated independently or in related programs, as determined by the user. These modules are:

-- Vocational Interest Testing
-- High School Topics and Orientation Quiz for Junior High Students
-- National Career Descriptions
-- Military Job Descriptions
-- National Job Opening Forecasts Through 1985
-- Local Area Job Information
-- Financial Aids
-- Community College Information and Courses
-- National Four-Year College Search and Information

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

Wisconsin In-School Placement Project*

The Wisconsin In-School Job Placement Project was started in the fall of 1975 to meet the needs of Wisconsin youth by providing assistance in making informed career decisions and in preparing for and executing job searches. This is a joint project of the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction and Job Service Wisconsin (the public Employment Service agency in that state), using a model and technical assistance provided by the Wisconsin Vocational Studies Center at the University of Wisconsin - Madison. Funding comes from a variety of federal sources including ES, vocational education, and CETA Title III.

The project is designed to encourage local education agencies (LEAs) and local ES/Job Service offices to develop collaborative job placement teams to serve students on school premises. Each team consists of a school guidance counselor, vocational education coordinator, Job Service placement specialist, and, in some instances, a teacher. The team provides career counseling, employability skill development, occupational and labor market information, job search training, and placement services for all in-school youth and recent school leavers, both dropouts and graduates. Priority is given to potential dropouts and high school seniors who are not planning to go on to college or to postsecondary vocational schools. A secondary target group is any student who seeks part-time employment after school or as part of a work-release program.

Schools, individually or in consortia, are urged to develop non-monetary agreements with the Job Service to delineate clearly responsibility for each of the four service components provided to students.

Stressing the importance of community collaboration, each team is required to form an advisory committee consisting of at least one representative each from Job Service management, school administration, business, labor, parents, students, and civic leaders, as well as at least one ex-officio member who serves on the placement team. The committee is responsible for providing information and feedback to the team to improve services and results, helping gain community support for the project and contributing support and guidance in changing school curricula and Job Service procedures so that the needs of young people may be more effectively met.

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* This description is based on information provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute and the September 22, 1977, issue of Manpower and Vocational Education Weekly.

In the first six months of the project, approximately 12,000 Wisconsin high school seniors in 57 schools were offered employment-related services and a total of 2,664 job placements were made. During the 1976-77 school year, the number of participating institutions rose to 155 high schools and 5 postsecondary schools. Some 35,000 students received employment development training or assistance, and an estimated 20,000 job placements were made. This included about 8,000 full-time, unsubsidized jobs in the private sector, as well as part-time jobs and public service employment under CETA.

Youth Pride, Inc.: Washington, D.C.*

Youth Pride, Inc. was begun in 1967 to provide training and supportive services for inner-city young people in Washington, D.C. Initially funded by a thirty-day challenge contract from the U.S. Department of Labor, Pride, Inc. has since expanded to help over 15,000 youth.

From its first few years when Pride's operation consisted of public housing and neighborhood sanitation projects, the organization has evolved into a multi-faceted operation which provides vocational training to hard-core unemployed youth; encourages potential dropouts to remain in school; and assists the academically marginal, low-income student who seeks post-secondary and/or higher education.

The Training and Education Department of Youth Pride, Inc. has three units which work together to insure that each trainee has the support and guidance needed to successfully complete his/her training cycle. The three units are: Education, Skills and Curriculum Development, and Supportive Services. The Education unit seeks to upgrade the level of academic proficiency of each trainee upon entering the program. Additionally, the Education unit provides information and resources for the educational advancement of trainees, staff, and employees. Supportive Services provides information and assistance in the areas of family and legal counseling, preventive and curative medicine and out-patient referral. Skills and Curriculum Development is the cultural, educational, and public relations unit which involves the organization in constructive interaction with the community.

The Vocational Placement program was developed to meet the needs of young men and women in the community who come from "disadvantaged" backgrounds; these young people, who are between the ages of 14 and 17 and who possess few vocational skills, often find employment extremely difficult to obtain. This program makes it possible for them to receive on-the-job training in vocational settings that complement their academic studies. They receive career counseling and guidance through personal contact with staff and through seminars, workshops, and special events.

The field Training Department is responsible for the vocational training and placement of trainees. The program provides

* This description was provided by the Information Exchange Service, Work-Education Consortium Project, National Manpower Institute.

technical training for youth generally between the ages of 18 and 25 who have special employment problems -- those who are school dropouts, ex-offenders, previous drug users, or underemployed. Training is provided in the areas of automotive mechanics; building maintenance and renovations; retail sales and retail sales management; and computer science operations.

The preceding list of programs provides a useful sample of specific operational efforts designed to deal with some of the transition needs of youth, either as a primary objective or as one of several programmatic goals. It is likely that much information regarding the success of these varying approaches could be gained through the conduct of more formal evaluations than those which have previously been conducted (if, indeed, any at all have been conducted). Such a post hoc evaluation process, if feasible, would enable us to maximize already existing knowledge at less cost and within a shorter time-frame than that which would be required by the development and implementation of new experiments.

A basic question, however, which needs to be addressed concerns the reliability of post hoc evaluation or, put another way, in evaluating operational programs in which little or no provision has been made at the outset for evaluation how much is lost? This issue is likely to be raised by those who maintain that it is preferable to integrate program planning and program evaluation. This integration, they maintain, is likely to result in a better program, because the process of thinking about desirable outcomes for evaluation purposes forces program planners and managers to sharpen their concepts of program goals, objectives, and target clients. A good evaluation even requires preprogram specification of possible undesirable side effects of planned activities, possible environmental variables that will be

required to carry out the planned activities, and possible organizational or management variables that can influence project outcomes positively or negatively. (See Jung, 1977.)

After program implementation has begun, the periodic collection of data on program activities and outcome attainment, especially for very early program outcomes, can also be useful in helping program managers make beneficial decisions for modifying the program. The importance of so-called "formative" evaluation feedback has recently been illustrated by the Career Intern Program, sponsored by USOE and NIE, and operated by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (see NIE, 1977). This program successfully weathered many early problems, due in no small part to the cooperation of program staff with evaluators, who provided a steady stream of objective information on program activities, immediate planned and unplanned outcomes, and environmental and organizational variables that seemed to be interacting with activities and outcomes.

Many social programs begin without much prior thought about evaluation, however. One of the best known examples is Compensatory Education, as funded by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. As a result of early failures to thoroughly identify target clients and to articulate evaluatable goals and objectives for the program, unresolvable controversies over the effects and effectiveness of the Title I program remain with us today, despite the expenditure of millions of dollars and thousands of hours by evaluators to try to come up with reasonable estimates (see McLaughlin, 1977). Title I is perhaps too extreme an example. It can be argued that the

goals of the program were largely political and were satisfied just by the expenditure of over $15 billion in federal monies -- that there never was a serious intent to produce demonstrable achievement gains in disadvantaged children. Further, the Title I program has never been able to exercise enough control over the expenditure of federal funds to truly qualify as a "program," in the sense that it is not "a coordinated series of activities carried out to achieve a specified set of goals for a specified target audience." A more useful example of the introduction of evaluation into an operational program may be provided by the experience of the Pilot Cities program, which was an attempt by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) to improve the effectiveness of local criminal justice systems through the infusion of special teams of experts skilled in research and evaluation. The evaluation of this program, conducted by the American Institutes for Research, began over three years after the program became operational in its original site and one year after operations began in the eighth and final site. The tardy introduction of the evaluation thus precluded any attempts to assist with program planning and implementation decisions (the "program improvement" role of evaluation discussed by Jung, 1977). This is unfortunate, because it was no doubt a major cause of the program's premature demise, well before the final evaluation report was completed.

Despite the program's demise, the evaluation was generally regarded by its sponsors as having been successful in providing information useful for future policy decisions regarding federally-financed

and promoted attempts to improve local criminal justice systems. In this case, the late introduction was an inconvenience but not an insurmountable one. All data were collected retrospectively; although this required some ingenuity, the reliability and validity of the data were entirely adequate to support the generalizations made by the investigators.

We may conclude, then, that although post hoc consideration of evaluation may be too late to provide the benefits of evaluation for improving program planning and early implementation, if a sponsor is mainly interested in deriving information for program accountability or later planning and policy guidance purposes, post hoc consideration of evaluation can be useful.

The better the quality of existing data about (1) the activities of a program, (2) the immediate outcomes of those activities, and (3) plausible bases for estimating what the situation would have been without the program activities and their outcomes, the more useful post hoc evaluations can be. Existing data sources include: (1) archives of the program and agencies that have dealt with the program; (2) periodic surveys that yield ongoing information which may be related to program activities or outcomes; (3) physical traces, subject to measurement or observation, left by the program's activities; and (4) the memories of individuals who participated in or interacted with the program.

The best way to insure adequate reliability and validity of post hoc measures is to identify indicators which constitute actual evidence

that something happened or did not happen. This means that subjective reports of people's perceptions are better avoided if data are available from archival sources (e.g., from reports, minutes, articles in the public media), physical traces of events (e.g., facilities and equipment obtained or augmented), and data from periodic surveys conducted by reputable organizations (e.g., Current Population Surveys conducted by the Bureau of the Census). Identifying such indicators is perhaps the most difficult task for a program evaluator; it is greatly facilitated by the construction of a program rationale, if such a rationale was not constructed at the beginning of the program. The rationale, which makes public the target audience, activities to have been carried out, immediate outcomes to have been attained, and possible influences of the milieu outside and inside the program, becomes a road map for the evaluator to follow. The previously-mentioned evaluation of LEAA's Pilot Cities program (Murray and Krug, 1975) is a good example of the use of the program rationale in identifying measures for a post hoc evaluation.

A less-easily solved problem with post hoc evaluations is identifying legitimate bases for making judgments about the relative magnitude and causes of program outcomes, i.e., answering the important "so what" and "why" questions. The solution frequently offered to both questions involves the use of experimental or quasi-experimental research designs, in which systematic attempts are made to observe program clients and comparable non-clients prior to, during, and after their "exposure" to the program (see Campbell and Stanley, 1966).

Various statistical models can be applied to help sort out cause and effect relationships and compare actual results against the probability of obtaining those results by chance alone.

These statistical models, however, generally require that client groups be set up in advance of program implementation. There is no totally satisfactory statistical treatment that will allow an evaluator to make post hoc adjustments to correct for pre-existing differences between program and comparison group clients. Here again, the most satisfactory solution for an evaluator faced with an operational program is to rely on a written program rationale, concentrating on the most powerful available empirical tests of the hypothesized links between program inputs and actual program outcomes, as mediated by environmental and organizational variables.

By adopting such procedures and by examining the methodology employed by successful post hoc evaluations, such as those noted above, much existing knowledge can be drawn from programs which are already operational. This knowledge can, in turn, inform further research and experimentation. Where current data are insufficient or lacking, new program experiments, such as those discussed in the next Part, would be developed.

NEW PROGRAM EXPERIMENTATION

This part develops possibilities for program experimentation in the transition from school to work and youth employment opportunity. Keeping in mind what we have learned, the concentration here is on new programmatic responses which could systematically further knowledge development. The possibilities advanced here are intended to have two characteristics: one is that they are thought to be missing links in the chain that connects education and work; the other is that the experimental approach to them would significantly expand knowledge of the kind necessary either for understanding youth transition better or facilitating broader use of a proven practice. They vary in the extent to which they have research objectives or are for the purpose of providing on-going models whose operations are carefully observed and recorded, so that they can be transported to other settings.

The program experiments recommended are grouped into eight areas of transition services and policies: information, job placement, age integration, private sector employment initiatives, experience, career guidance, community and national service opportunity, and initiatives for rural areas (which are also included in most of the

others). In each area, several specific program experiments are detailed; in some cases, the experiments would need to be carried out at more than one site.

INFORMATION

While inadequacies are large in the area of basic occupational and labor market information and its dissemination, activity has increased considerably over the last four or five years. In fact, the amount and diversity of this information and the proliferation of delivery systems have become so bewildering that a national coordinating board has been created to address this problem.

We have unemployment rates, detailed national surveys of youth labor market status every October, two national longitudinal surveys of youth (the Parnes survey and the NCES survey), the Occupational Outlook Handbook, national and state employment projections by occupation (made by BLS and the State Employment Services), occupational projections sponsored by various levels of the vocational education system, occupational awareness publications and studies sponsored by the career education movement and both public and private computerized employment and career information services. Local CETA prime sponsors and local postsecondary institutions are also generating occupational information and projections.

Within this context of abundant and diverse activity, a select set of recommendations is proposed for experimentation. The first is the development of an operating model of local information. The second is the more systematic use of public radio and television broadcasting in disseminating information. And the third is improving

the understanding of what child labor laws permit and prohibit.

* * *

Perhaps the most significant development in occupational information is computerization to facilitate its use. There are a number of computerized systems in operation, including 10 state-wide systems developed through grants from the Department of Labor's National Occupational Information Service. These systems require information, and the standard cliche about them is that they are no better than the information which goes into them.

Several of the developers and distributors of these systems have stressed the need to collect information beyond what now exists and the need to keep the information up to date. The Department of Labor grants were for developing the computer models and making them operational; they were not for collecting new or better information.

The best of the work which has gone into information gathering has been done by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, but this effort has largely been confined to the collection of national information. We are still in quite short supply of comprehensive, quality information at the local level, and until we have this, we are apt to be deceived by the sophistication of computer systems and the reliability of the answers they provide.[1/] The vast differences in what is included

1/ For a complete description of this problem see A Critical Look at the Measuring of Work, by Willard Wirtz and Harold Goldstein, National Manpower Institute, 1975, and Seymour Wolfbein's "Informational and Counselor Needs in the Transition Process," in From School to Work, National Commission for Manpower Policy, 1976.

within the term "occupational information," how various agencies go about collecting it, and what different experts believe is quality information, lend confusion to the difficult choices which must be made by the average community. At the same time, we can expect such diversity to continue, for we are not very likely to develop a uniform system of local collection and use through the federal government, or through the State Employment Services. Since different communities have varying goals, a single system is not likely to be warmly received.

- Several well developed local models, in which the necessary occupational information is collected on a comprehensive and systematic basis, would be supported by federal resources and would serve as examples and teaching laboratories for other communities.

The effort in these models would be to get the needed information collected on a regular basis. If these models were given as high a visibility level as the computer models, there would be a reasonable chance of success in influencing other communities.

The model communities would need initial resources to do the data collection. More importantly, they would need technical assistance in developing the kind of methodology that has given the national data their quality. The effort could benefit, therefore, from overall guidance by a panel of experts and a roster of consultants who could work directly with local community agencies in creating the data system.

* * *

The National Advisory Panel on the SAT Score Decline concluded that "by age 16 most children have spent between 10,000 and 15,000 hours watching television, more time than they have spent in school."[2/] Television watching is still substantial in the teen years. It is a medium familiar to youth. The fact that TV can reach young people, coupled with the wide availability of public radio broadcasting, presents an unexploited opportunity to familiarize youth with occupational possibilities.

- One or more experimental, local TV programs on occupational information would be supported and stimulated, with a broadly representative group of sponsors at the community level.

A regular well advertised TV program on occupations and careers would be likely to develop a substantial teenage viewing audience, if the programming were imaginative and the information itself accurate. It could be the joint effort of the school system (most particularly, career or vocational education), youth, employers, educational institutions, unions, and government (CETA Prime Sponsors and the Employment Service). It ought to be accompanied by listener surveys to determine the degree to which it is watched and perceived as useful.

The TV experiment could impart the content of careers and jobs through sketches, interviews, and tapes of live working situations. It could provide a job opening announcement service, permit advertisements of employers needing young workers, and attempt some economic

2/ On Further Examination, chaired by Willard Wirtz, 1977.

education. This experiment could provide for panels of young people to express their expectations and frustrations for the benefit of employers and the community. Such a program could also provide information about opportunities for occupational education.

* * *

Many youth, employers and even employment counselors confess to great confusion regarding what kind of work a particular youth can or cannot do, where he/she can do it, or during what hours. Their confusion comes from a variety of sources: the overlapping coverage of federal and state child labor laws and regulations; the profusion of minimum age requirements contained in other federal, state, and local jurisdictional laws; and the many special exemptions governing youth employment.

Recent surveys have revealed a widespread lack of information about and familiarity with child labor laws and related legislation. In fact, misconceptions regarding what the laws actually say frequently serve as unnecessary barriers to youth employment opportunity. While there is some useful information available, particularly on federal laws, there has been no concerted, coordinated effort to provide comprehensive guides to national, state, and jurisdictional child labor laws to serve as a basic reference for <u>local</u> employers, youth, and counselors.

- <u>In an effort to educate and inform employers, counselors, program administrators, parents, and youth, there would be developed a readable and complete</u>

compendium of laws (federal, state and local) affecting youth employment in a particular community.

The development of this comprehensive guide would be accompanied by the implementation of an information/education program, perhaps sponsored jointly by the Department of Labor and HEW. By offering workshops in use and content of the guides to employers, employer organizations, school systems, manpower agencies, youth organizations, and other interested groups, knowledge about the terms of child labor laws would become more widespread, there would be less confusion on the part of employers and perhaps more willingness to expand employment and experience opportunities for youth. The dissemination component could include using local media (TV, radio, newspapers) to publicize the availability of the guide and explanatory workshops. Pre- and post-surveys of youth employment in the community could be undertaken to determine what, if any, impact the guide and the dissemination campaign made in terms of increased knowledge of child labor laws and regulations as well as expanded employment/work experience opportunities for local youth.

JOB PLACEMENT

In many respects placement services for youth are old hat: they have come and gone; they exist in some places largely on paper; they are fairly common in vocational schools; they have been restored to a respectable level in a few state employment services;[3/] and they have held their own in a few others (the District of Columbia, for example). But there is no widespread professionalism in the running of such services; they are often one-shot affairs with no follow-up, and most high school youth can get more help with learning how to drive than they can with getting a job.

The fact that such services do exist and have existed means that a research office does not have to invent them. What is needed, however, is competent guidance in the establishment of such services. Most communities which become interested in establishing placement services start from scratch. Efforts to collect solid information, based on experience, to help guide these communities turn up little more than the existence of typically one-shot services provided to a declining number of schools by the public employment service, several serious efforts started by the schools themselves (but with little documentation available), a few brochures, and some fairly obvious precautionary notes.

The purpose of programmatic experimentation with placement services

3/ See The Boundless Resource for a summary description of the decline in such services by the State Employment Service.

would be to develop a number of carefully conceived operating models, that would demonstrate the processes of resolving difficulties as experience is gained, would provide documentation as to results, and would be subjected to sufficient observation to enable the preparation of materials to be used by others in transporting the model to their communities.

It is obvious that this undertaking is not typical of labor economics research nor of purely summative evaluation. It is a marriage of managerial expertise and the systematic element of observation, with the intention of instructing those who wish to create a placement service.

The interest of economics has often been in how labor markets function without intermediaries, and whether, in fact, any intermediaries are needed. One point of view holds that the match of people with jobs is probably based mainly on existing information and market incentives and that people find work through friends and relatives and by responding to direct employer advertisements. It is doubtful that there is any conclusive evidence regarding the difference that quality placement services to in-school youth make in improving the transition to work. While the structuring of the proposed experimental modeling might be distorted by making the determination of this difference the ultimate purpose, comparison with communities without services and comparisons among the models should produce usable information with respect to the difference such services can make in labor market outcomes. A 1976 research report from the Pennsylvania Department of Education

did address this question in the evaluation of three school-based job placement projects, reporting that "A major conclusion based upon the results of this study is that a formalized placement service can increase the probability of a student toward finding suitable employment over those schools that do not have such a service."[4/] In the Pennsylvania study, however, controls were not strictly maintained.

The suggestion is that there be a number of experimental models with structural differences among them. The main purpose would not be to identify the single "best way" of providing placement services, although the continued operation and improvement of these models may well lead to such identification. More likely, it will not be easy to associate small differences in structure with improvement in the quality of services because of other variables that affect performance. Moreover, there is, in fact, no single best way, given the differences among individual administrators and among local economic situations.

Rather, the purpose of variation would be primarily to give communities a choice of approaches and structures, based on:

-- the particular community institution that wants to take the initiative;

-- the degree of complexity the sponsoring community can handle; or

-- the degree of integration with employment institutions that is feasible (or desired) in a particular community.

4/ Merrill L. Meehan and Stephen J. Franchak, Evaluation of Three School-Based Job Placement Projects in Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Department of Education, February 1976, p. viii.

The fact of the matter is that jurisdictional considerations will be important to communities. Since there is no contemplation, to our knowledge, of any attempt to provide such placement services through a national instrumentality, choice will reside at the local or state level. The models would inform these choices. Unlike several European nations, where the provision of these services is strongly identified with a single institution, there has been no consensus on sole responsibility in this country. Heightened awareness and funding availability could well lead to contention among school systems, public employment services, CETA prime sponsors, and other public and private agencies. We assume that any arbitration ought to occur at the local level, although we fully realize that federal counterparts of local agencies may have strong opinions on such jurisdictional matters.

What follows is an attempt to suggest the broad outlines of possible placement models.

Public Employment Service Model - The Employment Service has had extensive experience in providing services directly to students, on the school premises. While this requires the cooperation of school officials, it does not necessarily require participation in design and operation. This model is possible where the school system and other community organizations want minimal involvement.

Joint School and Employment Service Models

- A model which is completely jointly designed and operated, intermingling Employment Service and school staff.
- A model in which the staff are school staff for housekeeping purposes but operate under the technical direction of the Employment Service.

- A model in which the schools and the Employment Service share the costs but jointly select and appoint a Placement Director who is in charge of a staff composed of neither school nor Employment Service employees.

Joint School and CETA Models - Same as above, substituting CETA for the Employment Service or including both CETA and the Employment Service.

School-Based Model - In which the initiative and administration is conducted wholly by the public school system but with a reasonable degree of cooperation from the Employment Service.

Independent Community-Based Organization Model - Created by a consortium of community youth service agencies and operated with full cooperation from the school system and the Employment Service.

Tripartite Model - A semi-private organization with government (schools - E.S.-CETA), employers, and unions providing an equal number of representatives on the board of directors.

The models as outlined above address only the possible variations in sponsors, linkages among organizations, and administration. Since placement services must connect to the market, a number of linkages must be created whether or not they exist in the organization of the placement service itself. The extent of variation in other key aspects of running a placement service would depend on how many models were feasible. Some variations for consideration are:

-- the degree of integration of operations of student placement and the whole public placement system; that is, the degree to which student applicants are exposed to all openings coming into the metropolitan area's network of public employment offices.

-- the degree to which the placement service is "hooked up" to other segments of transition services such as counseling, planned work experience programs connected with schooling, and community service opportunities as well as jobs.

-- the degree to which follow-up is attempted beyond placement in the first job, to help youth through the several transition jobs before an "adult type" job is obtained.

-- the degree to which the service is open to all youth, as opposed to particular target groups.

-- the degree to which job openings are sought in the suburban ring for central city youth.

The proposal for placement models contemplates two key products for community/state use. The first is a set of technical manuals and operating procedures to guide adoption of the model. The second is the existence of the operational model for viewing by prospective adopters. The reason for the first is obvious; for the second, perhaps less so. It is the observation of these authors that the fact that a particular approach exists in the present and is working weighs heavily in the decisions about whether to try it. There is discomfort with abstraction and a historical record of what was tried. There is perhaps a legitimate suspicion that what was tried and abandoned must not have been very desirable. The continuation of these models on an operating basis, therefore, is considered necessary if they are to influence choice.

Thus far, we have spoken almost entirely in terms of careful model construction and observation to permit transport to communities. This process requires the discipline of research. It also requires structured observation to determine what components/features are responsible for what differences in the quality of the services. Obviously, managerial skill plays a large part in the creation and operation of the models. There is also the element of professional

knowledge, provided by people who have administered placement services, in both public and private agencies.

The fact that these are experimental models permits us to go beyond the limits of temporary pilot efforts. We can expand the knowledge base about the dynamics of the youth transition at the same time that we are creating transportable models. Depending on the stringency of design, such a set of experimental models could shed light on a number of questions, such as:

- The kinds of qualitative and quantitative differences competent placement services make in the school-work transition.
- The degree to which achieving linkages across youth service agencies makes a difference in placement success.
- The degree to which involvement of employers and unions in management/policy direction of the placement service affects placement success.
- The nature of the transition itself, as follow-up contacts and services track youth through several jobs.
- The degree to which the operation of a quality placement service with substantial school involvement has positive impacts on other aspects of school management, resulting from the continual contacts with the employment community that are necessary in such an enterprise.
- The degree to which systematic exposure to youth through a placement service changes/confirms employer stereotypes of youth capabilities.
- The degree to which knowledge inevitably gained by the schools about employment opportunity affects curriculum.
- The degree to which follow-up with employers about the youth placed with them results in valuable information for the schools about instructional weaknesses.

AGE INTEGRATION

Over the last few years, one of the most frequent observations made about the transition to adulthood is the increasing degree to which the young are reared with limited contact with their elders and with limited participation in the pursuits of adults.

In the authoritative and forceful words of Urie Bronfenbrenner:

> As we read the evidence, both from our own research and that of others, we cannot escape the conclusion that, if the current trend persists, if the institutions of our society continue to remove parents, other adults, and older youth from active participation in the lives of children, and if the resulting vacuum is filled by the age segregated peer group, we can anticipate increased alienation, indifference, antagonism, and violence on the part of the younger generation in all segments of our society - middle class children as well as the disadvantaged. 5/

The greatest reservation about the degree to which age separation is happening, and the degree to which it merits the concern it receives, is contained in the works of Michael Timpane et al. (Youth Policy in Transition, 1976). Most professional observers, however, accept the reality of the condition and believe that something should be done about it.

Proposals to remedy the situation, however, have not been very extensive. While increasing age segregation was a central conclusion of the 1973 report by James Coleman and his colleagues, very little of the experimentation recommended in that report was directed at breaking down age segregation beyond the alternating of school and work.

5/ Urie Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood: US and USSR, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970, pp. 116-117.

Smaller schools were proposed, but they would still be age segregated. Similarly, the proposals for greater specialization among high schools addressed a perceived educational problem, but not age segregation. The proposal to move education into work organizations does deal with age segregation, but that proposition has not received much endorsement; the purpose of business is still business. Proposals for new "youth communities" and "youth organizations" seem to go in the direction of further segregation except as the community activities youth perform bring them into contact with those older and younger. Other proposals are primarily directed at increasing youth employment opportunities generally.

We do accept the proposition that declining intergenerational contact likely interferes with the absorption of the young into society and that the formation of a youth culture erodes the conception of a shared common culture. Trying to reverse such a trend would seem sensible, but the question of what effect the decline in contact between generations has had on the socialization process is probably not a question that lends itself easily to research. If this question is to be studied, extensive interdisciplinary research of a most basic kind would be required. Such basic research into socialization processes and how they change is not proposed in this research and development plan; it is something to be left primarily to academic research.

However, there may be a basis for action for those who are willing to accept the proposition that isolation from adults and adult activities in the teen years is likely to burden the transition from school

to work. While other factors, such as life in the suburbs and the decline of the extended family, contribute to youth's isolation, the major elements are: (1) the extended time youth spend in educational institutions, (2) the separation of those adults who do the educating from the mainstream of societal activity, and (3) the lack of need for youth labor on the part of a large sector of the employing community.

The interchange of education and work through work experience programs directly addresses the situation, by getting youth out of isolated school environments and engaging them in adult activities. (See the section on work experience, on page 296 of this section.) Beyond this, and without a great deal of elaboration, a major structural approach is suggested.

If the age separation problem has come about through the isolated position of the schools, then the reversal of these developments inevitably means some restructuring of the approach to education. Such an undertaking has implications far beyond the transition from school to employment; it has implications for the entire educational system. There is no doubt, though, that the transition is affected. A number of current efforts are aimed at bringing more of the work and adult world into the schools and at getting youth out into "real world" situations. The career education movement is important here, as is the effort to move more toward experiential learning.

But there are even broader views wholly from the side of educational theory. Lawrence Cremin, in Public Education,[6/] refers to

6/ Lawrence A. Cremin, Public Education, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1976.

the age separation thesis of Bronfenbrenner and Coleman in relation to his own educational theories. He asks that we start thinking comprehensively and relationally about education. By comprehensively, he means that

> we must consider policies with respect to a wide variety of institutions that educate, not only schools and colleges, but libraries, museums, day-care centers, radio and television stations, offices, factories, and farms. To be concerned solely with schools, given the educational world we are living in today, is to have a kind of fortress mentality in contending with a very fluid and dynamic situation.

Thinking relationally means that "whenever an educational effort goes forward, it must do so not in isolation from other educative institutions but in relation to them." In the same book, Cremin calls for a broadened school of education to complement his "comprehensive" and "relational" thinking, one that becomes directly "concerned with all the roles, occupations, and professions that are involved with education," and since "educational relations extend in time and in space, it also means that persons prepared to teach should be afforded experience with more than one type of educational institution, with more than one clientele, and with more than one particular age group - the rotating internship of medical training is a useful paradigm."

Such an undertaking has to involve a total commitment, since the whole of a community's institutions are involved. This approach deals with the role such broadly defined education would have in the preparation of youth for adult roles generally, with the presumption that such an undertaking would improve the transition to work.

The proposal is to operationalize fully Cremin's approach, beginning with the period of secondary education, in one or two medium-sized communities. A commitment from all of a community's public and private institutions, its public school system, and its university would be necessary.

> The experiment is one in which the school system and the university enter into a partnership to conceptualize a comprehensive and relational education system, train the staff who would manage such a system, and enlist the support and involvement of all the community's institutions in delivering the education.

The growth of age separation has been examined by a number of the country's foremost educators and social scientists who have been nearly unanimous in sounding the alarm. There are a number of pieces that are beginning to fit into the kind of pattern that Cremin proposes: field experience education, "schools without walls," experiential learning, and career education. But we have to put it all together in one place if we are to find out what it really means for a society to educate its young and take responsibility for absorbing them, rather than stop with the creation of an isolated bureaucracy.

PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES IN YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

The search for ways to increase private initiatives in creating employment opportunity for youth has been underway for a considerable period of time. It was a focus of a number of national efforts in the 1960's, as well as local ventures spawned by the availability of government employment and training funds. These efforts have been renewed in the 1970's in present efforts of the administration to channel considerable funds into business sector ventures, in the new Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act's provision for substantial experimentation with wage subsidies as incentives for employers to hire youth,* and in the creation of new non-profit intermediaries to experiment on a large scale with such programs as those contained in the YEDPA Knowledge Development Plan.

In a just-issued report, the influential Committee for Economic Development observes that "a key ingredient in many successful business efforts to increase training and employment opportunities has been active and coordinated support by national and local leadership groups working closely with local community organizations, labor unions, and government units." Examples cited by CED are Chicago United (and its Chicago Alliance of Business Manpower Services); Union Carbide and the colleges and universities of Oak Ridge, Tennessee; the National Manpower Institute and its Work-Education Consortium; and the Greater Philadelphia Partner-

* Since wage subsidy experimentation is covered by the YEDPA Knowledge Development Plan, it will not be included here.

ship.[7/] The Committee, studying the situation for over two years, was particularly emphatic about the need for the creation of such broad collaborative ventures at the local level, with assistance from national organizations.

There are some points on which there would be widespread agreement about the nature of the employment situation for out-of-school disadvantaged youth:

-- it has proven intractable despite all past efforts;

-- it will be helped, but not reduced a great deal in size, by the rates of aggregate economic growth we can now afford under constaints of energy shortage and inflation; and

-- just public job creation for unemployed youth is a solution few want.

Given the difficulty of solving these extreme employment opportunity problems, there is necessity for local problem solving by the private institutions that have whatever power there is to open private employment opportunity to disadvantaged youth. The groups named by CED in the above quotation as needing to engage in this problem solving are adequate except for the probably unintended omission of education institutions (clearly unintended since education institutions are a large part of the Oak Ridge effort cited by the CED report).

Attempts at such local problem solving are going on, and more are being urged. The question here is not the matter of general policy with respect to encouraging such efforts but of elements of a research and experimentation strategy. While of lesser magnitude, the latter

7/ Jobs for the Hard-to-Employ: New Directions for a Public-Private Partnership, Committee for Economic Development, January 1978.

could prove to be of equal or greater importance.

- What is here proposed is the creation or expansion of a half dozen local collaborations of private institutions that have taken as their central task the widening of job opportunity for disadvantaged youth, with systematic observation of the process and the results.

With interest in such local, private effort at its peak, this is a good time to undertake such an effort in a relatively few places in such careful fashion that the experience can be broadly instructive to private institutions and communities generally. The research-observation element would have to be unobtrusive, so as not to have the research objectives themselves impact on the nature of the process and its results.8/

For the purposes of the investigation, it would be necessary that the collaborative deal squarely with the private job opportunities problem, rather than become simply a conduit for public funds to reimburse employers for training young people in ways that have already been tried on a large scale basis and have already been the subject of a number of research projects and evaluations. The line may be somewhat difficult to draw, but the desire is to focus the experimental effort on the private job quantity problem rather than on other problems which exist for the disadvantaged. Broad collaborative efforts deal with the inadequacies of institutional linkages; this effort focuses on private job creation through concerted collaborative effort.

Regarding research questions, there is little that could or should be specified in advance. The problem, instead, would be to provide for

8/ An approach to such observation is detailed in Evaluating the Work-Education Consortium Project: An Overview of Issues and Options, by Steven Jung, National Manpower Institute, 1977.

systematic observation and recording, so that we would know what happened, how it happened, and why. A problem exists, and a group of private institutions have taken on the problem. The knowledge question is: can these private institutions acting together do something about it, and can others learn anything useful from what they did?

The creation of such experimental local collaboratives, or the building on existing efforts for this purpose, would require careful brokering between the research office and the community institutions.

* * *

The largest concern is the opening of regular jobs in the private sector, in firms engaged in the production of goods or the delivery of services and operating without government subsidy. But there is a supplemental possibility that is better than the non-private employment alternatives: the assisted creation of youth enterprises. A large array of developed abilities and talents exist among those hundreds of thousands to whom we indiscriminately apply the euphemism of "disadvantaged."

There are services which youth can perform. One approach to youth-provided services is through youth-staffed "enterprises," which receive support from adult organizations and perhaps government, but which remain separate and go about their business much the way that regular private enterprises go about theirs.

A few of the benefits of youth performing services in youth enterprises, as opposed to the payrolls of government agencies, may be:

-- experience more similar to that of a private firm than that of a large government bureaucracy;

-- more opportunity to learn managerial/administrative support duties;

-- more opportunity to share in decisions about what services the enterprise performs; and

-- more opportunity to receive recognition for the services performed.

In addition, there are many needed services that are not always considered rewarding jobs if they are performed at the dictate of large public agencies; in fact, they may be resisted as dead-end or even thought of as menial under those circumstances. However, if these same services are performed at the initiative of the youth enterprise, there may be a different attitude, particularly if the enterprise gets clear recognition in the community for the service it performs.

In Part II, several such existing initiatives have been described and will not be repeated here. There is thus a small base of experience in such ventures that involve disadvantaged youth. There is also familiar experience in the better Junior Achievement efforts. The specific recommendation for programmatic experimentation is as follows:

- A number of experimental youth enterprises would be created to perform needed services, with the youth having some voice in the services provided, with youth performing the full range of duties necessary to run the enterprise, and with an Urban Youth Enterprise Corporation providing the necessary support and training. Services would be purchased by contract with local governments or sold to the public where appropriate.

Since the purpose is experimentation, these models would be carefully observed through research personnel employed by the Corporation.

The selection of youth would include those who have shown leadership skills, as well as those who have displayed less motivation and initiative. Local Advisory Boards would play a key role in creating a receptive environment, helping to identify desired services, and helping to achieve the kind of community recognition which would sustain youth motivation.

Results of systematic observation of, and reporting on, youth enterprise experiments would include establishing:

- whether such an approach is practical and for how many youth it may be practical;
- how much financial and technical support is necessary to sustain such service enterprises;
- whether such enterprises can achieve reasonably good records in delivering services;
- whether they provide vehicles for a significant proportion of youth receiving experiences (and the credentialing of them) that are useful in other employment settings; and
- whether there are service markets such enterprises can earn revenue from, without serious competition with other enterprises.

* * *

Research that comes from census tapes and unemployment releases hasn't been telling us much about the nature of employment shifts as they affect the prospects of inner city youth. While there have been analyses of the changing location of jobs between the suburbs, cities, and outer ring of beltways around cities, they do not tell enough of the story. Research has shown that teenagers are concentrated in

particular occupations and industries and that even when their employment expands, they remain in these occupations and industries rather than spreading to others. Surveys of employer hiring practices confirm that a large proportion of employers simply do not hire persons under 20 or 21 years of age.

Two trends seem to be occurring. The larger market for the kinds of service establishments that use teenage labor exists in the suburbs and on the arteries leading out of the city. The restaurants, fast-food chains, car washes, filling stations, and smaller retail stores are large demanders of youth labor. And it is in the suburbs, where they can find parking space for their automobiles, that people are shopping. The majority of these establishments are almost always looking for labor.

In the central city, this market is relatively much smaller. And, according to unverified but reliable speculation, more of these jobs are held by women from the central cities, who also have serious job shortage problems and who represent strong competition for the teenagers.

To the extent that we do have a situation of geographical imbalance between central city teenage job seekers and suburban teenage job opportunities, we should remedy it, both in the interest of the youth and the employers. This problem of market-matching has two major elements. An obvious one is geography. The jobs are not where the youth are. The other is the problem of brokering between youth and employers. The extent to which these problems can be worked out, and the determination of whether working them out is of any value to central city youth, is more likely to be discovered through live experimentation

than through survey research (although survey research could provide useful information).

- Experiments are proposed in which the access of central city youth to youth job opportunities outside the city is increased by job brokering and transportation arrangements.

Arranging for such experiments could be done by the Urban Youth Enterprise Corporation. In any event, a local entity would need to do the organizing work, and a means of observing and recording results would be necessary. The cities would be picked after some reconnaissance to determine whether the surburban service industries were chronically short on labor. If the interest were strong enough, it might be possible to enlist these firms in the project and create a central pool of job orders and applicants. To the extent that public transportation is not feasible, the use of shuttles would be explored, around beltways and along main arteries. Such shuttles are increasingly common for motels, universities, and large employers whose operations are dispersed.

If such experiments, after careful implementation, show essentially negative results, then we would know that the growth of these youth jobs in service industries outside the central cities can be of little use to youth inside the city. If they work, then the natural growth of private youth jobs can be taken advantage of to help, at least a little, to relieve central city job shortage.

* * *

- While many existing youth jobs offered by employers may be only temporary and may impart few transferable occupational skills, a planned program in cooperation with such employers may greatly expand the utility of these employment experiences.

In one expanding sector of youth employment, such as fast food chains, a Youth Employment Development program would be designed and installed in cooperation with (or by) the employers. The purpose would be to give youth in those jobs as rich an experience as is afforded by the setting in which the youth work.

A plan would be developed for each employee to perform the entire range of tasks in the operation of a fast food chain, including exposure to purchasing and bookkeeping operations. The experiment would include tracking youth for a period of time to see how they fare in terms of rising to management positions within the firms and what they move on to when they leave.

Such a program would be an experimental effort to determine whether extra efforts and employer cooperation can improve the value of "youth jobs."

EX 'ERIENCE

Employers often say that when hiring, they look for a degree of maturity among young people that will make them responsible in performance. Frequently, employers look to experience as an indicator of such maturity. On the other side of the divide, growing numbers of educators are looking to experience as a means of stimulating the motivation to learn and providing settings for learning that have less abstraction than the classroom.

Despite this interest in employment and educational development through experience, there are enough uncertainties about the benefits gained, and the problems encountered, to make the growth of systematic arrangements for interrelating education and experience surprisingly slow. Live structured experiments with planned observation present themselves as the most certain way to resolve some of these uncertainties and at the same time provide models that can actually be observed. Because of the need for a considerable period of follow-up, such efforts do require considerable time, but no more so than, for example, the supported work experiments that are now ongoing.

The experimental models selected here are: (i) the matter of community-wide management; (ii) the possible use of experiential passports to record experience; (iii) the systematic identification of barriers to creating work experience programs; (iv) the role planned educational experiences play in improving transitions to regular employment; and (v) the role such efforts play in increasing educational

attainment and improving educational choice.

- Community Management of Work Experience Programs - An experimental effort to establish accepted methods of community-wide management of work experience programs.

The growth of the alternation of work experience and classroom work will, at some point below the desired level of opportunities, run into problems resulting from the fact that any sizeable community has a number of different school units engaged in work experience programs as well as a large number of employing units where experience opportunities exist. The crucial element of success in such programs is achieving employer participation, but employers are likely to balk when too many demands come from too many places.

From the standpoint of employers, some order needs to be introduced, and from the standpoint of the schools, some pooling of talent and ability is necessary to maintain the constant contacts with employers that are required to sustain a large program. The experiment (or experiments) would consist of a single operation, established by a consortium of all the schools and using a carefully selected staff to relate to employers. Developed work experience opportunities would be allocated to individual schools. From the standpoint of schools, one of the major problems that impede the development of work experience programs would be removed: individual teachers and school staff would be able to draw on a central pool of opportunities rather than have to strike out on their own to develop them.

Beyond its brokering role, this work experience service would develop the capabilities necessary to help the schools with systems of awarding academic credit for work experience. In addition, the service would broker communications between the employers and the schools with regard to educational shortcomings perceived by the employers providing work experience and with regard to deficiencies perceived by the schools in the quality of the work experience opportunities provided by the employers.

- A new development report or experiential passport for youth to supplement academic records. 9/

We have accepted systems of grades and other academic credentials for youth to present to employers. Employers, however, have a primary concern about the experience a young person has had and other indications of maturity. There are a number of developmental experiences in addition to classroom education which employers are not accustomed to identifying, nor are they able to assess what such experiences mean for maturity. A young person has very little to offer in this area that bears the certification and authority of a high school report card.

Youth gain experience and maturity through extracurricular school affairs, responsibilities assumed in the running of the family household, service performed in the neighborhood for older people, or people with handicaps, unpaid employment and family enterprises, volunteer

9/ For more detail, see Lifelong Learning: Starting Young, by Paul Barton, National Manpower Institute, 1977, pp. 18-20.

service in community organizations, part-time school-year and summer employment, and tutoring of younger children. These activities are all in addition to the kind of experience that comes from formal programs to intermix education and experience.

New counseling and brokering centers have been established for adults wishing assistance in seeking additional education and employment. These centers frequently emphasize to those returning to the labor market after long absence, or entering it for the first time, the importance of identifying all the activities that develop abilities desired in the employment world, such as household management. But we have ignored this area for youth, who must negotiate in the employment world for their first job frequently with only limited educational certification.

The experimental development of an "experiential passport" to be a companion to the educational passports, issued in the form of report cards, high school diplomas, GED scores, and SAT scores, would aim for three objectives: (1) a commonly known report assessing post-developmental experience, (2) an increasing articulation by business of the kinds of developmental experiences desired, and (3) as a result of (1) and (2), a growth in the extent to which youth seek such opportunities and adults help to provide them.

- An experimental, carefully observed approach to work experience programs to identify the barriers actually encountered in the implementation and expansion of such opportunities and the means found successful in overcoming these barriers.

Difficult problems attend the launching and maintenance of a quality, high volume, work experience program tied to formal classroom work. There are a number of ways of identifying such barriers: through questionnaires directed at systems that have chosen not to develop work experience programs; through discussions with people now running such programs; and by carefully observed experiments. While the first two approaches would yield useful information, the experimental approach would be preferable, given that the barriers could be recorded as they were actually encountered, and approaches to overcoming them could be more consciously designed.

The purpose of the experiment would be to determine the barriers to work experience programs. For purposes of illustration, however, a number of possible barriers can be enumerated and anticipated in the experiment. They are such matters as: the failure to include labor unions at the outset; insensitivity to union/worker interests on matters of wage rates and guarantees against displacement of adult workers; average daily attendance formulas for school financial aid; lack of understanding of child labor laws; problems employers encounter in workmen's compensation coverage; transportation problems; fringe benefit coverage; and employer concern regarding unemployment insurance costs.

A desirable product of such an experiment would be a technical assistance manual on problems encountered, the approaches taken to deal with these problems, and the results. More than one experiment would provide assurance that particular problems and solutions were not peculiar to only one specific environment.

- Utilizing a carefully constructed model, with observation, to illuminate the transition-to-employment aspect of work experience programs, tied to classroom instruction.

Proponents assert that two distinct, but related, benefits result from the integration of experience with classroom education. One is the improvement of youth's ability to move into the employment most consonant with the individual's potential and the economy's needs. The other is the use of experience as a learning mode to accomplish basic educational objectives. The former is addressed here; the latter is addressed below.

The fundamental research objective would be to identify the pattern of youth's movement from regular schooling to full-time regular employment through work experience programs, and the extent to which this pattern differs from one where there is no planned and arranged inter-mixture of education and experience. Such research would differ considerably from past summative evaluations of work experience programs where immediate earnings differentials and differences in time spent in unemployment are measured on a comparative basis. It is more refined and, therefore, more difficult.

The questions to which answers would be sought are as follows:

- When extensive efforts are made to identify useful developmental experiences through planned school-work mixtures, do the jobs (experiences) in fact end up being different in content than the part-time jobs youth get on their own, and if so, what differences are there?
- Do youth in planned work experience programs end up with specific job skills that give them the edge over other youth, or is the skill acquisition time in these jobs so short as to make little difference?

- Does the work experience approach improve employment success just in the teen years, when the majority of employers avoid youth, or does it also make a difference between, say, the age of 20 and 25, as well?

- Do employers who decide to engage in planned work experience programs change their views about what teenagers are capable of, or does it just confirm their prior opinions?

- Do youth become more certain about their own occupational objectives as a result of planned work experience programs?

- The value of work experience programs tied to classroom instruction, for achieving traditional educational objectives.

It would be extremely valuable to know if work experience, alternating with classroom study, can increase the attainment of traditional learning objectives. The school dropout rate has not improved for about a decade, employers (and colleges) are complaining that high school graduates can't read and write, and scores on standardized tests, such as the SAT, have been in decline for fourteen years. The adequacy of educational attainment is inextricably linked to a successful transition to employment.

A few of the research questions would be as follows:

- Does making employment available to students, without their having to break their ties to school, increase school retention?

- Does the practical need to use the results of formal learning in a job setting increase motivation to learn?

- Do youth exposed to a variety of carefully selected work experiences become more certain of their educational goals?

- Do work experience programs increase the feedback from employers to the schools about educational deficiencies, and is employer interest heightened in remediating the deficiencies?

- Some "planned variation" in work experience program design would be valuable for developing information about best practices.

There are many critical program design matters that will be eternally debated without resolution unless there are carefully constructed experiments, with follow-up of results.

Issues to be addressed in such experiments could include the following: Is there a substantive difference in outcomes between regular wages, no wages, or stipends during the work experience period, or does this vary depending on the particular objectives of individual work experience programs and the kind of work which takes place? How long does the work experience need to last in order for it to be valuable? For what kinds of objectives does observation at the work site prove beneficial, as compared with actual work performance? What levels of responsibility should realistically be given to youth in work experience programs?

Such comparative analysis would be expensive. But as work experience becomes an ever larger element of education, we are going to be using a very expensive approach (in terms of the use of the time of students and employers) without a sufficient knowledge base to be doing it right.

CAREER GUIDANCE

Guidance and counseling services : youth operate under fragmented institutional conditions which make the provision of services difficult and cause frustration for all interested parties -- user, provider, funding agencies, employers, parents -- who feel the gap in performance between expectation and reality.

One objective of program experimentation in the area of youth transition guidance and counseling services would be to conceptualize and test a selected number of models which bring the reality of those services closer to an informed hope of what a quality program could accomplish.

The four models of program experimentation suggested here seek to capitalize on the natural ferment of ideas and energies already available to program developers. The models seek, too, to by-pass the restrictive presumption that inadequate funding has been the overwhelming cause of the current state of skill development and fragmented institutional responsibilities. In fact, these models proceed from an inverse argument: that conceptual incompleteness, programmatic inflexibility, and lack of proven results have compromised the credibility of career guidance services. If these obstacles can be overcome and convincing results demonstrated, increased funding is more likely to be forthcoming. The first steps toward those results can already be seen around the country. The common denominator of these successful programs is thoroughgoing cooperation among the leading actors.

Program experiments aimed at research objectives will need to start from a common set of assumptions. Among these assumptions should be the following:

First, that career guidance is a social function which is performed consciously or unconsciously by the many different people who influence youth -- whether that influence be to restrict, redirect, or encourage involvement of an individual or group in particular types of careers.

Second, that the career guidance activities must include those who have the greatest influence over career decisions of youth. These groups include: parents and other family members; youth peers; employers, unions, and other groups which set conditions of employability of youth; teachers and other adults responsible for the social, moral, and skill development of young people; role models who set precedents and credible examples of socially acceptable behavior.

Third, that the effectiveness of institutions currently involved in providing career guidance services -- universities, colleges, and schools, federal-state employment service offices, welfare agencies, veterans and rehabilitation services, and other governmental agencies, voluntary, non-profit and private agencies -- is proportionate to their ability to share and coordinate information, personnel, skills,and responsibilities.

- Multi-lateral coordination of federal, state,and local agency efforts to encourage improved community participation in career guidance and counseling activities.

Because youth transition issues so often involve governmental agencies, confidence in innovative programs at the local level is often a function of confidence in the consistency of federal, state, and local government agency support. This conceptual and financial support can be a particularly effective incentive at the early states of innovative programs.

Conceptual support could take several forms:

(1) Those federal agencies principally identified with guidance and counseling services could encourage greater local coordination of agency services and greater openness to the use of community resources. For example, the U.S. Employment Service, the Veterans Administration, the Rehabilitation Services Administration, and the U.S. Office of Education all support -- directly or indirectly through the states -- guidance and counseling programs, with career guidance and counseling being a major component. These agencies already have bilateral inter-agency agreements to cooperate at the federal level and to encourage cooperation at the local level. Program experimentation within the framework of these agreements is wholly conceivable. Working collectively with selected states and local communities in a supportive, non-directive manner, these agencies could bring federal prestige and visibility to bear as an incentive for local agency personnel to initiate and participate constructively in comprehensive community career guidance projects. Direct assistance could take the form of technical assistance workshops, inclusion of selected communities in related federal programs, and limited financial assistance to support specific local projects with unique start-up costs.

(2) Federal agencies not normally associated with professional career guidance and counseling services also have unique access to resources which are essential for effective community-based career guidance services: ACTION, Housing and Urban Development, Commerce, and the Employment and Training Administration of the Department of Labor all relate to specific constituencies at the local level. In each case guidance from the federal level in support of local agency collaboration with community resources would cut across the psychological distance of federal-local relations and remove the imposing barrier of perceived regulatory disapproval.

It would not be necessary for all the agencies noted above to participate in an experiment of this type. But the intent would be to encourage at the local level the flexible use of program resources available to governmental agencies, including public schools. In some instances experimental modifications of regulations might be suggested, as in the case of allowing reimbursements to employers for their participation in designing and implementing innovative career guidance projects.

Research questions addressed by this program model are of two types: (1) questions concerning the types, volume and results of local career guidance initiatives resulting from the impetus of multi-lateral collaboration and (2) questions concerning the quality and effectiveness of the agency collaboration process.

-- What are the characteristics of optimum local "environments" which can be created as a result of federal efforts to encourage local governmental agencies to initiate and participate in collaborative career guidance programs?

-- What are the financial and non-financial incentives which federal agencies can provide to local governmental agencies to encourage their involvement in collaborative career guidance programs? What are the perceived regulatory or authority barriers to that involvement?

-- How do community agencies, employers, unions, and individuals respond to coordinated efforts of local governmental agencies to involve community members in career guidance activities serving youth?

-- What types of technical assistance and training are most effective in preparing local governmental agencies to develop community participation in career guidance programs?

- Identify incentives for private sector participation in the planning and implementation of career guidance programs.

The program experimentation proposed here would seek to test the capacity of the private sector to involve itself in school-to-work programs by applying innovative incentives for participation in the area of career guidance and counseling. It is essential to develop more options for community participation in youth transition programs and more models of how those options could be structured (depending on variations in local circumstances) before any judgements can be made about the overall validity of community involvement in comprehensive career guidance activities.

Research objectives would include:

(1) Identifying the motivations of current private sector participants and non-participants in various community career education and career guidance programs.

(2) Identifying barriers to individual and institutional involvements in career guidance programs.

(3) Identifying a range of possible incentives which are congruent with the positive motivations of private sector individuals and organizations to participate in youth career guidance activities. These incentives could be financial or non-financial. Financial incentives might include reimbursement and "consultant" payments for management and worker time contributed to program planning and development, in effect, an extension of the concept of reimbursements for additional costs of training but not tied to direct skill training since career guidance activities need not result in immediate employment.

Non-financial incentives could include the removal of administrative barriers, improved communications between public and private sectors, the creation of new risk-sharing methods of student insurance, or the

design of more comfortable, convenient and productive guidance relationships between young people and adults.

(4) Local programmatic experiments employing varieties of "incentive packages" could be designed and implemented to test the utility of various incentives as determinants of the volume and quality of individual and institutional participation by the private sector in career guidance programs.

(5) Training programs could be developed to raise the knowledge, skill, and confidence levels of parents, workers, and other adults participating in career guidance programs. Workshops bringing lay people and professional career counselors together in mutually supportive programs could be developed to allay the stereotypes held by each group. Making participants comfortable with their roles and responsibilities and providing them with access to qualified professional support would be one type of program incentive package worth testing.

- New role for career counselors: Reintroduce Project CAUSE as a program experiment.

"Adequate" counselor-client ratios are expensive, so expensive as to be prohibitive at most times and in most places. Cost is partially a function of the extensive training provided to professional counselors, partially a function of the higher salary costs of maintaining a professionally-trained counseling staff, and partially a function of the non-use of alternative cost-effective roles and resources.

In 1964 and 1965 the Department of Labor initiated Project CAUSE (Counselor-Advisory University Summer Education). It was a relatively modest effort: 1,900 persons trained in two summers. But its impact was major because it legitimized the paraprofessional roles of counselor

aides and youth advisors. Within eight weeks individuals could be trained not simply to assist counselors with administrative workload, but more significantly to perform functions and provide perspectives which supplemented the skills of the professionally trained counselors. Other impacts of CAUSE included:

-- emphasizing the importance of the guidance function as a direct agent of community change;

-- demonstrating that counseling personnel could perform valuable functions without meeting graduate school admissions standards; and

-- demonstrating that diverse models of service delivery were both valid and needed.

Program experimentation in this area could serve to establish paraprofessional career roles within the mainstream of the profession. The greatest obstacle to this experiment would be the potential resistance from professional counselors with graduate-level training who find few enough opportunities for their own employment and career development. Working with universities, the American Personnel and Guidance Association, and the U.S. Office of Education, the Department of Labor could seek to mediate the profession's concerns for certification and skill standards with the pressing needs for greater cost effectiveness, more flexible career ladder patterns of professional growth, and more sophisticated career guidance programs serving urban, suburban,and rural youth. Experimentation of this kind could prove especially valuable in light of the new opportunities for career counseling programs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act.

The theoretical questions regarding the value of peer and paraprofessional roles in career guidance and counseling activities have been answered positively. The key programmatic questions center on issues of institutional change and the acceptance of new knowledge, new working practices, and new types of staff relationships by the counseling profession and clients. Such changes are more easily rejected than accepted.

Research in this area would involve a careful analysis of the impact of paraprofessionals on counseling programs in schools, employment service agencies,and elsewhere. The research would also call for the design, implementation,and evaluation of alternative change strategies. Two research and policy issues of prime significance would be:

(1) Can the introduction of more career ladder options for the career guidance profession result in the expansion of total resources for career guidance? This question suggests that the presumed improvement in client acceptance resulting from more accessible career counseling services could result in a greater willingness from funding agencies to support or "purchase" career guidance programs. It suggests, too, that internal professional resistance to the introduction of intermediate skill roles could be reduced or aggravated in proportion to the perception of future growth or decline trends in overall professional opportunities.

(2) Can the introduction of more career ladder options for the career guidance profession result in improvements in the effectiveness of career guidance services for youth? This complex question would need to be refined through research into a series of performance indicators. The performance indicators would be designed to track developments in the quality of program design as well as program outcomes. Program outcomes probably would also be of two types: reports by clients, employers, parents,and others of their perceptions of services, and tested changes in the quality of information

and self-directed decision-making. In most instances, changes in these indicators could be related only inferentially to changes in staff roles and program design.

- Encourage the establishment of career guidance teams, committees, and/or centers to improve inter-agency and intra-agency communication and collaborative decision-making for career guidance at the local level.

Improved mechanisms for providing career guidance could include:

(1) Career guidance teams within schools. Teachers, administrators, counselors,and students could form action teams for various purposes: to discuss options for a particular youth, to prepare a specialized curriculum, to work through credit and supervision arrangements with a specific employer. Where volume of work became significant, teams could be formalized as credit review boards, or site approval boards. Students and faculty could incorporate team information requirements into the teaching-learning process (e.g. as ad hoc management consulting experiences). It would be logical to make school-based career centers the organizing point for these teams.

(2) Career guidance committees across educational and/or skill training institutions. While problems of individual students could occasionally become issues for these committees, their more typical responsibilities would cover sequences of curriculum development and problems involving shared resources (e.g. where two or more educational units were using a single work-site). Employers, where they have found themselves subject to multiple requests from educators, have begun to insist on inter-institutional coordination. Funding for this type of

coordination has been provided in some cases from the education sector. As community institutions become involved in more adventurous staff training and student career guidance activities, inter-institutional structures which now may seem superfluous will be essential.

(3) Community career centers are another way of institutionalizing communication for career guidance. Many career centers are being developed in public school districts and in colleges. Too often these centers are adjuncts to school libraries without trained staff to develop meaningful programs. But the potential for career centers is enormous where they are conceived and implemented on a more comprehensive basis. Most importantly, the career center concept can provide the professional counselor with both a legitimate base of operation and a job description independent of school administration and one-to-one counseling. Where career centers can be established as joint undertakings of several agencies and located in neutral territory, career counselors would have an opportunity to develop program initiatives within a broad framework of comprehensive career guidance objectives for a community.

Experimentation in this area would build upon the growing body of research and programmatic initiatives which are demonstrating both the theoretical necessity for improved institutional communications in career guidance and the practical feasibility of certain communication techniques. Here, too, the principal challenges are in the dissemination,

replication, and adaptation of successful practices. Consequently, the real thrust of research should be on: the identification of successful communication models for career guidance programs; the development of strategies to market the concepts and practices associated with those models; the formulation of technical assistance strategies for successful dissemination and adoption; and the development of methods for monitoring continuing program effectiveness.

- Intensive in-service training and program development for optimization of vocational and career guidance and counseling services.

A frequent concern voiced by members of the counseling profession is the lack of sufficient time and/or training to provide students with the guidance and counseling services they need. Currently, emphasis is being placed on the clinical (therapeutic) model of counseling, and any shift away from this model towards that of information-brokering would require large-scale retraining of professionals.

The proposed program experimentation in this area would provide funds for further examination and/or implementation of one or several model(s) aimed at providing intensive vocational and career guidance services to in-school youth at the secondary level. These models might include the following:

(1) Experience-Based Career Education - Several of the efforts funded by NIE have focused on making all or part of the school curriculum oriented to career guidance and decision-making, using community resources to supplement services provided by the school. This model has proven to be effective even at those sites where only part of the

curriculum has been altered. Findings indicate that student motivation, basic skills, and awareness of career opportunities are all enhanced through participation in the program. A review of the EBCE approach might yield useful data to serve as a base for developing more refined and expanded vocational and guidance programs at the local level.

(2) Expansion of traditional counseling approach - The number of counselors would be dramatically increased in an effort to lower the student:counselor ratio, thereby affording counselors more time to focus on individual student needs and devote to in-service training and broadening their information base. Close attention would be paid to determining the viability of the traditional one-to-one counseling model and whether such an approach increases the quality and quantity of student-counselor contacts.

(3) Joint School-Employment Service Model - This approach would be similar to that proposed in the section on Job Placement but with greater emphasis placed on career development and counseling. Such a model would also be suitable for serving the needs of youth who have dropped out and are no longer served by the schools.

For each of these models, it would be essential to maintain a control group in order to determine whether any difference was made in facilitating the school-to-work transition for youth participating in the experiment. By following up on both experimentals and controls over a period of time (perhaps five years), it would be possible to determine the longer-range impacts of the program during the crucial years following high school, in terms of employment and/or continued education.

COMMUNITY AND NATIONAL SERVICE

There is increasing realization that regular employment and formal education are not the whole of the answer to providing productive roles for all youth. Youth do not always want as much education as we seem willing to give them, and there are not enough regular employment opportunities to go around. At the same time, it is clear that there are needed services which are not being performed and that we have had enough success with such ventures as the Peace Corps and ACTION programs of domestic service that these service needs and youth aspirations can be brought together in a mutually advantageous way.

In the considerations of enlarging service opportunity, and in the debates surrounding these considerations, a variety of objectives have been involved. Service opportunity has been viewed as a way to: provide more equity in the administration of the military draft by requiring some kind of service of all youth; get work performed that is not provided for in the market economy or by regular government appropriations; nurture idealism and a spirit of voluntarism among youth; provide real experiences for school-going youth to aid maturation; and enlarge opportunities for out-of-school youth unable to find paid employment or wanting an experience different than that available in the market economy. While all are interrelated, it is primarily the last two objectives which are of concern here.

In using the service approach to provide education-experience exchanges for in-school students and in expanding the number of

productive roles for out-of-school youth, additional knowledge would be highly desirable for shaping an enlarged service opportunity role in rounding out a youth policy. Some of this knowledge could be obtained by the careful structuring of programmatic experiments.

- We need to compare a variety of remuneration approaches to see whether one works better for some people and not others and to determine whether there is one best way or a number of approaches that are effective.

Proponents of service programs have suggested a variety of approaches to remuneration ranging from a strictly volunteer approach without pay to full pay at prevailing wages, as in the case of public employment programs. It is unlikely that one approach is right and the other wrong. Youth in differing circumstances have differing needs - some want and need money and will compare service opportunities with employment opportunities; others want the rewards that come from serving the community, and the experience that goes with it, and are in less need of regular wages. A variety of remuneration policies would allow us to find out how many youth, and from what circumstances, are recruited. We would find out which approaches successfully engage youth and what kinds of costs would be incurred in providing such opportunities on a national basis.

Whether new service opportunities come to be valued by the community will depend heavily on whether they are, in fact, services the community wants performed. This raises the question of what means

should be used in choosing the services. Identifying real community needs will also be a key to making the service experience meaningful to the participants, for that meaning is bound up with how much the community values the service performed.

> It would be desirable to attempt to find a practical way to identify what services the community wants performed. Experiments would be conducted in order to determine whether it is good practice to make a survey of community organizations in order to get their perceptions of what services are needed or whether it is more useful to ask this mainly of local elected officials. Another possibility would be to start out with youth themselves making a survey of citizen needs and preferences.

In addition to pre-identification of needs, a system for checking periodically on community reactions and for follow-up after the completion of projects could be developed in experimental programs.

While there has been increasing acceptance of the value of combining work experience with education, there is also considerable doubt that work experience through regular part-time jobs can be, as a practical matter, made available to all youth who want such experience. Whether or not community service experience can substitute for paid employment on a sufficiently large scale will probably depend on whether such experiences produce the same results (or better).

This is something that can only be learned through a controlled experiment.

- A comparative study would be conducted of a traditional work experience program and one that provided community service experience instead of work experience.

The comparison would be made both in terms of the educational value of the experience and the improvement of the transition from school to work.

A more general matter for experimentation is identifying the features of service opportunity that are essential to making its performance on a par with education and regular employment, during the youth stage of development. If we are to expand youth opportunities by making service opportunity a valid productive role for youth, we must find out what ingredients are necessary for youth to come to view service as a valid productive role. While identifying the variables that make the greatest contribution to this end will be difficult, they can be identified only by tying together research and experimentation.

INITIATIVES FOR RURAL AREAS

The heterogeneity of rural life in America poses special difficulties for policy development and program experimentation in rural areas. The programs that have been developed in the past to deal with the problems of youth are generally acknowledged to be unsuitable to the conditions of rural life and inimical, in many cases, to the values and customs of rural communities. Research strongly indicates that the policies and programs that have been developed primarily with urban constituencies and urban conditions in mind will not only fail when implemented in rural areas but will increase the reluctance of rural state and local governments and agencies to accept federal program initiatives and monies which they need so badly.

Recent research on both educational reform and manpower development programming suggests that federal programmatic experimentation in rural areas should rest on a few simple, but crucial premises:

1. Solutions to the problems of rural youth demand systematic analysis of those problems and comprehensive remedies (Marshall, 1976).

2. Rural initiatives must always be based on the primacy of local circumstance. Attempts to circumvent local traditions, conditions, and values are destined to eventual failure (Sher, 1977).

3. The improvement of youth opportunities in rural areas will not be achieved without integration of educational and economic development activities (Marshall, 1976; Nelson, 1977; Sher, 1977).

A major problem in the articulation of youth policy for rural areas is the fact that we do not know very much about the characteristics of the youth transition process in the varied rural environments in which these youth are coming of age. We have increasingly come to view urban life as the "norm" and rural life as a deviation from this norm. Moreover, as Sher notes (in Education in Rural America):

> The great diversity of the rural population has encouraged political organizing in rural areas to emphasize various regional, racial, ethnic, economic, or occupational alliances, while concomitantly inhibiting the creation of a broad-based 'rural' constituency. Thus, as a political entity, rural America currently equals far less than the sum of its parts.

In framing alternatives for program experimentation, it then appears that a few basic guidelines should be followed. Program experimentation should focus on the development of local initiatives. These local initiatives should be structured to enable comprehensive approaches to the problem and the involvement of all relevant sectors of the community, particularly educational institutions, economic institutions, and public agencies of social service and manpower development.

- Current work-education council initiatives in rural areas should form the base for an expanded "Rural Consortium" which would include broader geographical and ethnic group representation -- particularly from the Southwest, deep South, and far West.

Such councils should have the necessary freedom to develop the most appropriate structures and programs, within the general imperative that they must seek to reach those most in need. From the outset, they should be mandated and provided resources or expertise to begin the

process of developing a profile of the youth transition in their community. Such data gathering should not be limited to demographic data but should include sensitive and detailed studies of the community's social and economic organization. To the extent that the communities are representative of the varied rural environments in this country, such research activity will be useful to both the local community and to policy-makers at the state and federal level. Eventually, provision should be made for the permanent continuation of this data gathering activity, perhaps within the school system or a local college. An example of such a study is The Marion County Youth Study, which has drawn data from an ongoing longitudinal investigation of youth in a medium-sized county in the Pacific Northwest from 1960 to the present.

In addition to this important research function (which has the important advantage of building community capacities and understanding), such collaborative bodies as work-education councils are singularly appropriate vehicles to begin the process of establishing a comprehensive and systematic community approach to the problems of youth transition. The difficulty of establishing new initiatives in rural areas requires that an expanded Consortium be provided adequate resources, time, and intensive technical assistance. A close monitoring of these rural collaborative efforts, as well as of the resources which prove most useful to these projects, will provide important and now lacking

comparative data on how the collaborative approach affects both youth prospects and community development efforts in rural areas. Other questions of relevance that could be addressed within this demonstration context are:

1. What impact, if any, do collaborative transition programs have on curriculum development, vocational programming, and career guidance?

2. Does greater (more efficient) resource utilization occur as a result of such programs?

3. Do such programs succeed in reaching those youth most in need, particularly those who are often neglected because of family circumstance and geographical isolation?

* * *

Many observers have noted that a major barrier for rural youth efforts is the difficulty local communities experience in gaining access to sources of support, expertise, technical assistance, labor and employment data, and assistance in understanding laws, regulations,and federal program guidelines.

> Regional Technical Assistance Centers would be established and supported to assist local school-to-work initiatives. Such centers would be responsible for the retrieval and dissemination of pertinent school-to-work transition information, its analysis and adaptation to local situations,and the on-going training of local governmental officials, teachers, and citizens involved in youth transition activities.

Input to the regional centers could come from varying institutions,

including colleges and universities and social science research facilities. In addition, such centers could harness the talents of people within the region with particular kinds of expertise who would otherwise be involved in independent, disparate efforts. A most important element in such a regional center would be its enabling function, as an institution created primarily to serve the locally identified and locally felt needs of rural communities. The Center for Community Organization and Area Development in South Dakota is one example of the kind of center proposed here. CENCOAD is a private, non-profit organization affiliated with Augustana Lutheran College in Sioux Falls. Its services are available to communities in 18 counties in a tri-state area -- South Dakota, Iowa, and Minnesota.

> The Center for Community Organization and Area Development helps residents cope with problems, whether they relate to securing emergency loans for crop damage...or to financing and staffing a new senior citizen center...CENCOAD also acts as a referral service, a job made easier...by the acquisition of a computer that lists, according to fields of interest, names and locations of organizations and public officials with special knowledge and experiences (American Education, June 1977).

The proposed centers would function not only as resources for local communities but also as an important nexus to which state, regional, or national agencies could turn for knowledge about local community sentiments, programs, and needs. The establishment of a number of centers on a demonstration basis would provide an opportunity to determine if technical assistance and access to information do play a significant role in stimulating and improving local youth transition activities in rural areas. We have very little understanding, at this

point, of what kinds of information and assistance are most useful to community-based transition efforts. Nor do we know what methods of delivery and dissemination are most acceptable to them. These questions could also be studied within this context.

* * *

Beyond the capacity-building thrust, the question remains -- what can and should be done to address the immediate and pressing problems of the more than 4.5 million fourteen to eighteen year olds living in rural communities? Researchers seem to agree that whatever is done must focus simultaneously on the improvement of educational and training opportunities and the creation of work opportunities through private development efforts and public employment programs (Marshall, 1976; Sher, 1977). Implementing these insights, however, is much harder than voicing them, in large part because of the present poverty of resources in many rural communities. One example of this dilemma is the difficulty of developing work experience programs for rural youth: "in many rural areas, there are simply not enough businesses, industries, or government agencies in the community able to provide suitable work experiences for rural high school aged youth" (Sher, 1977).

In the face of severely constrained resources, policy makers seeking to address the problems of rural youth must not only focus on the strengthening of existing institutional capacities (as we have suggested above) but must also "formulate and evaluate potential

strategies, programs, and institutions which can integrate education and development more completely, maximize the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of current efforts, and begin to obviate the cycle of rural deprivation" (Sher, 1977).

In Education in Rural America, Jonathan Sher of the National Rural Center has proposed an imaginative strategy for integrating educational and economic development which might well serve as a model for addressing this problem. Sher has suggested as an appropriate model for rural development the School-Based Community Development Corporation.

> A new affiliate organization (the CDC) would be legally incorporated under the auspices of the school board responsible for the local public high school...the purposes of this new organization are: (1) to function as a full-fledged CDC working for the economic and social welfare of the community as a whole; and (2) to complement or eventually supplant existing public vocational education programs and institutions, while concomitantly becoming an integral part of the educational experience of most rural high school students.

As Sher describes this experiment, the school-based CDC would function in varied ways: as an economic development program, a community planning agency, a manpower development project, a career education program, a community services agency and a nonpartisan political institution. The establishment and support of a small number of SBCDCs in each of the federal regions would provide an opportunity to determine if integration of educational and economic development through the creation of a new institution can in fact bring positive change.

Evaluations of past Community Development Corporations have cited a continuing tension among the multiple goals of these organizations. Most particularly, the struggle to achieve and maintain viability as an economic organization often conflicts with other, more community serving goals. It would be important to learn if the school-based model is less or more susceptible to these contradictions and if, in fact, a SBCDC can successfully perform the varied functions proposed. Urban CDCs have been developed specifically to aid disadvantaged communities and constituencies. To the extent that rural communities are disadvantaged in comparison with the national norms, the intent of the rural school-based CDC would be the same. However, it is proposed that the rural ventures be undertaken under the sponsorship of a major community governing body which is generally composed of local community leadership. An important question here would be to determine how sponsorship affects participation in the corporation. In short, are those youth most in need of transition assistance being reached by this venture? Perhaps even more important to determine would be the effect such a venture would have on the community-at-large. Does it serve as a catalyst for other transition-oriented activities and promote greater collaboration among the education and work communities? Determining exactly how such a broad-based and ambitious enterprise affects its parent community is an extremely difficult task, a task for which quantitative methods may be largely inappropriate. Study of these kinds of "social inventions" can perhaps best be done through

participant observation. This kind of research depends, however, upon the informed cooperation of the local community and should not be undertaken without such a commitment.

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These proposals focus primarily on strengthening the infrastructure of rural communities and improving their capacities to access and utilize existing resources. These kinds of efforts appear to be crucial if rural areas are to gain some measure of control over their future development.

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